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SOVEREIGN GERMANY SPEAKS  
Reactions to Sovereignty, Austria  
Solution and Coming Four-Power  
conference

Report No. 213

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RESEARCH STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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NOT ASSIGNED



## INTRODUCTION

On May 5, 1955 under the terms of the Paris Agreements, the military occupation came to an end as the Federal Republic was recognized as the sovereign power of Western Germany by the fourteen member nations of NATO.

As a consequence of Austrian Chancellor Raab's visit to Moscow a few weeks earlier and the changed attitude on the part of the Russians, the Austrian State Treaty was finally signed on May 15, 1955. Under the provisions of the treaty all occupation forces must leave Austria by the end of the year; full sovereignty was restored to Austria, which may set up unlimited armed forces. Austria, however, was expected to remain neutral between East and West.

Following these two momentous events, of not unrelated significance, public speculation in West Germany became obsessed with anticipations for a possible Four-Power Conference, which they hoped would concern itself with the reunification of Germany and the restoration of full sovereignty to a new German government. Newspapers freely proposed various plans which might help bring about this hoped for state of affairs.

Thus with events apparently making their climax - a new Four-Power Conference - the Research Staff, Office of the Director, was instituted by the Research Staff, Office of the Director to sound out opinion in newly sovereign West Germany on the fact of sovereignty, as well as their expectations for a Four-Power Conference due shortly.

Interviewing was conducted between May and June 1955 by DIVO, Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung, Main, a German survey organization working under the Research Staff. The findings are based upon a survey of the West German population 18 years of age and over of 626 cases in West Germany and 297 cases in East Germany.

Complete tabulations and comparisons were made for the two groups on the issues posed in the study and the results are presented. Their study is recommended to the reader as a guide to the points which in the interest of speed, preclude a detailed treatment in the body of the report.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	i
Headline Summary	ii-iii
Part I - <u>The Impact of Sovereignty</u>	1-30
Section A - Awareness	1-8
Section B - Present Orientation	9-10
Section C - Future Policies	10-30
Part II - <u>The Austrian Solution</u>	31-38
Section A - Awareness	31-32
Section B - Appeal of the Austrian Solution	32-38
Part III <u>The Coming Four-Power Conference</u>	39-49
Section A - Awareness	39
Section B - Expectations	39-45
Section C - Conference Pre- Conditions	45-46
Section D - Neutrality Proposals	46-49
APPENDIX	50-123







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## HEADLINE SUMMARY

### PART I - THE IMPACT OF SOVEREIGNTY

#### Section A - Awareness

ONLY THREE-QUARTERS OF WEST GERMAN POPULATION AWARE OF SOVEREIGNTY...

PEOPLE ARE NOT PARTICULARLY JUBILANT OVER GAINING SOVEREIGNTY...

SIX OUT OF TEN SAY INDEPENDENCE IS NOT COMPLETE AS WESTERN POWERS HAVE RESERVED CERTAIN RIGHTS...

MOST OF THE RESERVED RIGHTS ARE REJECTED BY WEST GERMANS...

REUNIFICATION STILL CONSIDERED LEADING BUT NOT ALL-CONSUMING PROBLEM FACING THE GOVERNMENT...

#### Section B - Present Orientation (Neutralism)

WHILE MAJORITY SIDES WITH THE WEST, NEUTRALISM SHOWS FURTHER SLIGHT INCREASE...

SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. IN THE ADVENT OF WAR WITH RUSSIA ALSO SHOWS FURTHER SLIGHT DECLINE...

#### Section C - Future Policies

ONLY ONE IN SIX FAVORS A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WESTERN POWERS...

MINORITY DESIRING NEW ATTITUDE WISHES MORE FIRMNESS IN DEALING WITH THE WEST RATHER THAN NEW POLICIES...

ONE THIRD ASKS FOR A DIFFERENT ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA...

EASING OF GERMAN ATTITUDE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA DESIRED...

ONLY MINORITY OF WEST GERMANS AWARE THAT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS DO NOT EXIST WITH RUSSIA...

OVERWHELMING AND INCREASING MAJORITY FAVOR ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA. PROPONENTS BECOME OPPONENTS HOWEVER IF IT MEANS RECOGNIZING EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT...

HALF OF WEST GERMAN POPULATION FAVORS SETTING UP MILITARY FORCES...

YOUTHS NEED OF ORDER AND DISCIPLINE MOST OFTEN CITED AS REASON FOR SETTING UP MILITARY FORCES...

OPPOSITION TO REARMAMENT BASED ON FEAR OF NEW WAR...

MAJORITY BELIEVES GERMAN FORCES NEEDED TO DEFEND WESTERN EUROPE...

SOVEREIGNTY VIEWED AS AN AID IN ACHIEVING REUNIFICATION...

IMPROVED CHANCES ATTRIBUTED TO STRENGTHENED POSITION, WORSENEDED CHANCES TO RATIFICATION OF PARIS ACCORDS...

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## PART II - THE AUSTRIAN SOLUTION

### Section A - Awareness

SEVEN OUT OF TEN IN WEST GERMANY, EIGHT OUT OF TEN IN WEST BERLIN, KNEW OF AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR'S VISIT TO MOSCOW...

SIMILAR NUMBERS KNEW OF AUSTRIAN STATE TREATY...

MAJORITY OF WEST GERMANS UNDECIDED AS TO WHETHER AUSTRIAN TREATY CAN BE CONSIDERED A SUCCESS FOR THE WESTERN POWERS. BERLINERS TEND TO CONSIDER IT A SUCCESS...

### Section B - Appeal of the Austrian Solution

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WOULD WANT ADENAUER TO GO TO MOSCOW, TOO...

PLURALITY IN FAVOR OF AUSTRIAN TYPE SOLUTION FOR GERMANY. MANY REASONS PROPOSED WHY SIMILAR SOLUTION POSSIBLE...

THOSE OPPOSED SAY IT CONFLICTS WITH GERMAN SELF-INTERESTS...

## PART III - THE COMING FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE

### Section A - Awareness

AWARENESS OF COMING FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE EXTREMELY HIGH...

### Section B - Expectations

RISING OPTIMISM OVER CHANCES TO SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATE WITH THE RUSSIANS...

OPINION ALMOST EVENLY DIVIDED ON WHETHER GERMANY COULD ACHIEVE MORE FOR REUNIFICATION THROUGH INDEPENDENT, DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS THAN THROUGH FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE...

PROPOSERS OF DIRECT TALKS FEEL OTHER NATIONS WOULD COMPLICATE NEGOTIATIONS. THOSE OPPOSED, FEEL GERMANY IS TOO WEAK TO FACE RUSSIA ALONE...

WESTERN POWERS REGARDED AS MORE EARNEST ADVOCATES OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION...

### Section C - Conference Pre-Conditions

OPINION EVENLY DIVIDED ON IMPLEMENTING PARIS ACCORDS NOW OR WAITING UNTIL AFTER THE CONFERENCE...

ON CONDITIONS SET UP BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT -

- MAJORITIES INSIST ON - GERMANY AS MEMBER OF COMMUNITY OF FREE NATIONS
- GERMAN FREEDOM TO CONTRACT MILITARY ALLIANCES

THEY DO NOT INSIST ON RETENTION OF NATO BASES...

### Section D - Neutrality Proposals

FOR THE FIRST TIME NEUTRALITY PREFERRED OVER INCORPORATION INTO WESTERN DEFENCE SYSTEM...

ARMED, NEUTRAL GERMANY GUARANTEED BY EAST AND WEST APPROVED DECISIVELY...

GERMANS UNDECIDED WHETHER THE WESTERN POWERS OR RUSSIA WOULD GIVE THE NECESSARY SECURITY GUARANTEE...

MAJORITIES WOULD RELY ON WESTERN POWERS GUARANTEE, BUT MAJORITIES WOULD NOT RELY ON RUSSIAN GUARANTEE...

NEUTRAL BELT CONCEPT APPROVED - OPINION ON UNARMED, NEUTRAL GERMANY DIVIDED...

NEITHER NEUTRAL BELT CONCEPT NOR UNARMED, NEUTRAL GERMANY CONSIDERED LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE...

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PART I - THE IMPACT OF SOVEREIGNTY

Section A - Awareness

ONLY THREE-QUARTERS OF WEST GERMAN POPULATION AWARE OF SOVEREIGNTY...

The fact that implementation of the Paris Accords restored sovereignty to the Federal Republic of West Germany was realized by seventy-seven percent (77%) of the population, while the remaining twenty-three percent (23%) had not heard or read of this event.

"Have you heard or read that West Germany has recently gained its sovereignty, that is, its national independence?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (626)	<u>West Berlin</u> (297)
Yes, have heard	77%	86%
No, haven't heard	23%	14%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

PEOPLE ARE NOT PARTICULARLY JUBILANT OVER GAINING SOVEREIGNTY...

After reading the following statement to those who had not known of the restoration of sovereignty, another question was put to all respondents asking for the degree of enthusiasm with which they greeted this.

"If 'No, haven't heard':

INFORMATION:

On the implementation of the Paris Accords sovereignty was restored to the Federal Republic on May 5 in Bonn. Thus ten years of occupation came to an end and the soldiers of the Western Powers stationed in Germany from now on will be regarded as our allies and guests.

While the great majority of West Germans welcome the restoration of sovereignty, their enthusiasm is less than overwhelming, as less than three in ten (29%) welcomed it "enthusiastically", and but four in ten (41%) welcomed it "very much". The returns from West Berlin are scarcely different.

"Do you personally welcome West German's gaining sovereignty?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Welcome it enthusias- tically	29%	40%
Welcome it very much	41	42
Welcome it somewhat	8	10
Welcome it little	3	3
Don't welcome it at all	2	1
No opinion	17	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>







Most of those (13%) who welcomed sovereignty only "somewhat", "little", or "not at all" were concerned with what they felt was the failure to gain complete independence from the Western powers.

"Do you personally welcome West Germany's gaining sovereignty?"

IF "Welcome it somewhat", "Welcome it little" or "Don't welcome it at all":

"Why don't you welcome our regaining sovereignty (so much) (at all)?"

West Germany

West Berlin

Because West Germany has not gained full sovereignty - it will continue to be dependent on the Western Powers:

5%

2%

"We haven't been granted complete sovereignty,. We still are dependent on the Allies."

"All this talk about sovereignty just serves to disguise the true state of affairs, which is that we aren't free at all. That sovereignty of ours corresponds to the "freedom" people in the East Zone enjoy."

"It's sort of a partial sovereignty which won't be of much help to us, I would have been most glad if we had gained complete sovereignty, but as things are now, there can be no pretence to this. I guess West Germany will now have to act according to the orders of the Western powers."

Because the status of the Federal Republic has been consolidated - thus reunification will be more difficult to achieve:

1

6

"A new state has been created. Up till now West Germany was not a regular state according to politico-legal theory. Now the legal situation is rather complex as both East and West Germany are sovereign states."

"In regaining its sovereignty West Germany has tied itself definitely to one party, and thus reunification will become more difficult to achieve."

Because gaining sovereignty means losing the protection of the Western Powers:

\*

1

"The victors can provide a much better protection for us than we can ourselves if we are left to our own devices. We will have to build up an army of our own, but even if we have 12 divisions, they won't be able to protect us adequately."

"On gaining our sovereignty, we've lost the protection of the Western Powers."

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West Germany      West Berlin

Because the sovereignty agreement does not apply to West Berlin: - 2

"Because sovereignty hasn't been restored to West Berlin."

"So far West Berlin has been left out of the picture. The arrangement should include us, too."

Other and general answers: 4 2

"I'm sure we Germans will again land in some kind of mess."

"I doubt if it does us any good."

"Right now I feel that one cannot foresee what the consequences and effects of this step will be. It's all still in the dark."

No Opinion - Now answer - Irrelevant answers:

$\frac{3}{13\%}$

$\frac{1}{14\%}$

SIX OUT OF TEN SAY INDEPENDENCE IS NOT COMPLETE AS WESTERN POWERS HAVE RESERVED CERTAIN RIGHTS...

The reasons advanced by that small minority which was unenthusiastic about achieving sovereignty actually represents the majority viewpoint, for fully sixty percent (60%) of the West Germans believe (rightly) that the Western Powers have reserved certain rights.

"Do you believe West Germany has achieved complete independence, or is it your impression that the Western Powers have retained certain rights?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Complete independence	13%	16%
Certain rights reserved for Western Powers	60	74
No opinion	27	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

MOST OF THE RIGHTS RESERVED ARE REJECTED BY WEST GERMANS...

In addition to asking which rights they felt the Western Powers had reserved for themselves, those who felt that there were such reservations, were asked whether or not they approved of such reserve powers. Rejections outweighed acceptances by better than three to one in every field - military, political, trade and finance, as well as occupation rights.







"Do you believe West Germany has achieved complete independence, or is it your impression that the Western Powers have retained certain rights."

IF "Certain rights reserved for Western Powers":

"Which rights, you think the Western Powers have retained? (Do you approve of this, or do you reject it?)"

<u>West Germany</u>			
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Reject</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>Rights in the Military Sector (20%)</u>	5%	13%	2%
Control over German rearmament	4%	11%	2%
Control over war industry	1	2	*
<u>Rights as Occupation Powers (18%)</u>	4%	12%	2%
Stationing and maintenance of occupation troops	4	6	2
Right to requisition	-	3	-
Censorship of mail and news	*	2	-
Punishment of war criminals	-	1	*
<u>Rights in the Political Sector (17%)</u>	3%	12%	2%
Rights in the foreign affairs sector (also Saar problem)	1%	7%	*%
Rights in the domestic affairs sector	1	1	1
Rights in matters concerning German reunification	-	1	-
Rights with regard to the status of Berlin	*	*	-
Political rights (in general)	1	3	1
<u>Rights in the Fields of Business and Industry (15%)</u>	2%	12%	1%
Control of business and industry	1	9	1
Control over air traffic and air craft construction	*	2	*
Rights reserved in the financial sector (settlement of German property abroad, reparations etc.)	1	1	-
<u>Miscellaneous (1%)</u>			1
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>			16%
	14% <sup>@</sup>	49% <sup>@</sup>	24% <sup>@</sup>

\*Less than one half of one per cent.

<sup>@</sup>Some respondents gave more than one answer.







"Do you believe West Germany has achieved complete independence, or is it your impression that the Western Powers have retained certain rights?"

IF "Certain rights reserved for Western Powers":

"Which rights, do you think, the Western Powers have retained? (Do you approve of this, or do you reject it?)"

	<u>West Germany</u>		
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Reject</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>A - Rights in the Military Sector</u>			
<u>Control over German rearmament</u>	4%	11%	2%
"In military matters they will still have the last word."			
"There are restrictions in rearmament for we cannot set up as many army divisions as we want to."			
"They also decide the strength of our army."			
"They have the final decision in matters concerning defense."			
<u>Control over war industry</u>	1	2	*
"As regards rearmament, it's they who decide the strength and the type of our armament."			
"Germany is not permitted to produce heavy arms."			
"Restrictions on the German production of weapons and atomic products."			
<u>B - Rights as Occupation Powers</u>			
<u>Stationing and maintenance of occupation troops:</u>	4	6	2
"The right to remain here as occupation forces even as our friends."			
"They may continue to station occupation troops here."			
"Payment of occupation costs."			
"They retain military bases."			
"We must provide for the maintenance of the Western troops anyhow."			
<u>Right to requisition</u>	-	3	-
"They continue to requisition German property."			
"Requisitioning of German housing."			
"They have requisitioned land for army training centers and airports."			
<u>Censorship of mail and news</u>	*	2	-
"They censor mail and tap telephone lines. I disapprove of this kind of control."			
"Censorship of press and information."			
<u>Punishment of war criminals</u>	-	1	*
"The so-called war criminals are still kept in prison."			
"The German prisoners are still considered war criminals."			

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West GermanyApprove      Reject      No OpinionC - Rights in the Political SectorRights in the foreign affairs sector  
(also Saar problem)

1%

7%

\*%

"The Federal Republic has no right to conclude its own treaties with other countries."

"In issues involving the Russians, the West will probably continue to exercise its veto right in order to prevent certain quarters such as the Ollenhauer group and other radicals, from siding with the East and double-crossing the West."

"So that they cannot over-step certain limits when entering into negotiations with Russia."

"The West will certainly want to have a say in the settlement of the Saar problem."

Rights in the domestic affairs sector

1

1

1

"We must get their consent for certain acts of legislation dealing with internal policy."

"The Western Powers may intervene in case any tendency toward re-establishing a dictatorship becomes apparent."

"They have retained the right to intervene if any radical shift in the political course takes place towards National Socialism. This does not apply to Communism, for there they can do nothing."

Rights in matters concerning German reunification

-

1

-

"They don't want us to unite with East Germany on our own account for they want to have a say in that."

"In negotiations with the Russians on reunification."

Rights with regard to the status of Berlin

\*

\*

-

"Berlin is still dependent on the Western Powers, it has not yet regained sovereignty."

"They remain in Berlin in their capacity as occupation powers."

Political rights (in general)

1

3

1

"In politics, not all political measures are permitted."

"They have certain political rights over us as they are the victorious powers."

"The Western Powers want to make the final decision in big issues, political or otherwise."







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## West Germany

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Reject</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>D - Rights in the Fields of Business and Industry</u>			
<u>Control of business and industry</u>	1%	9%	1%
"Control over our trusts and our economy in general."			
"In industry, our steel works may only produce what they are told."			
"Economically, they won't allow to extensive production because they are afraid of competition."			
"In economic reconstruction they want to make sure that the Western pattern is followed and not that of the East."			
"I assume that they won't allow full production."			
"They block our progress in international trade."			
<u>Control over air traffic and aircraft construction</u>	*	2	*
"Restrictions in aircraft construction."			
"In aviation."			
"Prohibition of aircraft construction."			
<u>Rights reserved in the financial sector (settlement of German property abroad, reparations, etc.)</u>	1	1	1
"They reserve certain rights over the money they give us for reconstruction."			
"Our capital abroad remains their property."			
"The right to demand reparations."			
<u>E - Miscellaneous</u>	*	*	1
"They don't want to give up their advantages."			
"They still prefer France to West Germany"			
<u>No opinion, No answer, irrelevant answers</u>	14	49	16 71@

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

\*Less than half of one percent.





REUNIFICATION STILL CONSIDERED LEADING BUT NOT ALL-CONSUMING PROBLEM FACING THE GOVERNMENT...

While West Germans consider Reunification the most important problem facing West Germany today, it was mentioned by less than a majority (39%). The population of West Berlin is considerably more concerned with this problem, for it was proposed by 68% there.

"What do you think is the most important problem facing West Germany today?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>
	Feb. 55 (820)	Apr. 55 (843)	June 55 (626)	June 55 (297)
<u>Foreign Relations</u>				
European integration	3%	2%	2%	1%
West German remilitarization	9	7	4	4
Peace	23	17	19	4
Reunification	34	37	39	68
<u>Internal Affairs</u>				
a. <u>Economic:</u>				
Standard of living, economic conditions	8	8	10	7
Employment	2	2	3	5
Housing	3	3	5	1
Taxes	1	2	1	1
Others	1	1	2	2
b. <u>Political:</u>				
Governmental problems	1	*	1	1
Communism	1	1	*	-
Other internal problems	2	7	*	1
No opinion/No answer	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%

\* Less than half of one percent.





Section B - Present Orientation (Neutralism)

WHILE MAJORITY SIDES WITH THE WEST, NEUTRALISM SHOWS FURTHER SLIGHT INCREASE...

From the Summer of 1952 until the Summer of 1953 there was an increasing identification of West Germany with the West until at that time roughly seven out of ten Germans thought that they should be on the side of the West. Since then, there has been a slow drift away from the West towards Neutralism, that is towards taking neither side. (Included among the "neutralists" are those who say they have "no opinion" as to which side Germany should take.) From the previous seven out of ten, there are now only about five out of ten (52%) who choose the West, while those saying "Neither side" or with "No opinion" have increased from three-tenths to almost half (47%).

Confirmation of this trend can be seen also in the figures from West Berlin where the proportion choosing the West has declined from 89% in February 1953 to 73% now in June, 1955. Over the same time the percentage of those not wishing to take sides has risen from 11% to 26%.

"At the present time, do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East or on neither side?"

West Germany

	May 52 (791)	Sept 52 (1591)	Dec 52 (1193)	May 53 (740)	July 53 (625)	June 54 (599)	Sept 54 (605)	Oct 54 (836)	Feb 55 (820)	June 55 (626)
East	1%	*%	*%	*%	1%	1%	1%	*%	1%	1%
West	35	58	64	72	67	60	58	60	56	52
Neither side	43	31	29	20	24	30	30	31	36	33
No opinion	21	11	7	8	8	9	11	9	7	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

West Berlin

	Feb 53 (400)	Apr 53 (299)	July 53 (199)	Sept 54 (149)	June 55 (297)
East	-%	-%	*%	1%	1%
West	89	92	86	79	73
Neither side	9	7	12	15	23
No opinion	2	1	2	5	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

\* Less than half of one percent.





SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. IN THE ADVENT OF WAR WITH RUSSIA ALSO SHOWS FURTHER SLIGHT DECLINE ...

The decline in identification with the West noted in the previous question is further reflected in the answers to the question concerning, which side West Germany should be on in the event of a war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. While differences between each successive survey are slight, the trend since September 1952 is quite clear. It shows fewer people wishing to side with the U.S. and more wishing to remain neutral. The results from West Germany and from West Berlin are in the same direction.

"And if it should come to a war between the Soviet Union and the United States, do you think West Germany should take a side or not take a side? (Which side?)"

	<u>West Germany</u>					
	Sept	June	Sept	Oct	Feb	June
	52	54	54	54	55	55
	(1591)	(599)	(605)	(836)	(820)	(626)
Side with Russia	*%	*%	*%	*%	1%	*%
Side with U.S.	52	44	40	38	39	35
Not take side	37	46	48	53	51	52
No opinion	11	10	12	9	9	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Sept	June
	54	55
	(149)	(297)
Side with Russia	2%	-%
Side with U.S.	61	52
Not take side	33	43
No opinion	4	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

### Section C - Future Policies

ONLY ONE IN SIX FAVORS A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WESTERN POWERS ...

While most West Germans are satisfied with the present course of relations with the Western Powers (57% in West Germany and 74% in West Berlin do not wish a different attitude), a small group (17% in West Germany and 19% in West Berlin) would like to see a different attitude.

"Should West Germany now that it is a sovereign and independent state assume a different attitude towards the Western Powers than before, or shouldn't it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, different attitude	17%	19%
No, no different attitude	57	74
No opinion	26	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\*Less than one half of one per cent.





MINORITY DESIRING NEW ATTITUDE WISHES MORE FIRMNESS IN DEALING WITH THE WEST RATHER THAN NEW POLICIES...

The main concern of the small group asking for a new attitude toward the Western Powers is that the Federal Republic stand up to the West and show through independent action that they are truly sovereign. There is scarcely any mention of a policy that is not already the present course of action of the German government.

"Should West Germany now that it is a sovereign and independent state assume a different attitude towards the Western Powers than before, or shouldn't it?"

IF "Yes, different attitude":

"In what respect should West Germany assume a different attitude towards the Western Powers?"

West Germany

West Berlin

West Germany should be firm and truly independent

11%

7%

"They should maintain that we are now really independent and should no longer submit to coercion. The government should make that quite clear."

"The government shouldn't always do what the Western Powers wish but should put its foot down once and for all."

"It should demand the right to decide about its relations to other nations independently of the West."

"We should be able to pull off re-armament by ourselves without submitting to any rules and restrictions by the Americans. Every sovereign state has the right to do that."

"Now at least the Federal government should take a firmer stand."

West Germany should step up its efforts for reunification

2

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"West Germany should concentrate all its energy on reunification and deal with other issues later."

"They should finally demand that something be done. I mean, the Western Powers should do something about reunification, and if they don't want to, it's up to us to seize the initiative - just as Austria has done it."

"We should act more in our own interest. We shouldn't always promote American interests but take care of our reunification instead."

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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>West Germany should strive for neutrality and postpone rearmament</u>	2%	1%
"Its standpoint should not be pro-Western, but German."		
"Germany should now be neutral."		
"We should increase our resistance against rearmament. Renilitarization is what the Americans want, but not what we need."		
<u>West Germany should adopt a firmer attitude on the Saar issue</u>	1	2
"They should be a little more self-confident than they have been up until now and should not accept every proposal Paris makes concerning the Saar and so on."		
"It should insist upon free elections in the Saar Basin without the French exerting any influence upon them."		
<u>Take better care of German's economic interests</u>	1	2
"Our aim should be: a still freer economy, more exports, fewer imports of agricultural products. Besides, we should have import duties which guarantee a better protection of our own agriculture."		
"We should now also step up trade with the Eastern countries."		
<u>Other answers and general comments</u>	1	1
"Of course, we shouldn't force things through, but we shouldn't be too soft, either. We should demand that the West hurry and do something about the Autobahn toll so that the Western Powers will get in touch with Russia about it."		
"Should be conciliatory, peaceful."		
<u>No Opinion, No Answer, Irrelevant answers</u> *	18% <sup>@</sup>	<u>2</u> 20% <sup>@</sup>

\*Less than one half of one percent.

@Some respondents gave more than one answer





ONE THIRD ASK FOR A DIFFERENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS RUSSIA...

Twice as many wish to see a new attitude towards the Soviet Union (34%) as were in favor of a new attitude towards the Western Powers (17%).

"Should West Germany now that it is a sovereign and independent state assume a different attitude towards Russia than before, or shouldn't it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, different attitude	34%	43%
No, no different attitude	38%	49
No opinion	28	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

EASING OF GERMAN ATTITUDE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA DESIRED...

Most of the suggestions concerning the proposed new attitude towards Russia have to do with entering direct negotiations of one sort or another with the Russians. Proposals for negotiations in themselves as well as other comments presuppose a more conciliatory attitude towards the Russians.





"Should West Germany now that it is a sovereign and independent state assume a different attitude towards Russia than before, or shouldn't it?"

IF "Yes, different attitude":

"In what respect should West Germany assume a different attitude towards Russia?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>More conciliatory attitude</u>	32%	26%
Establish normal (diplomatic) relations with Russia	9%	7%
Negotiations on German reunification	7	6
Greater receptivity towards Soviet proposals	5	5
Direct negotiations with Soviet Russia	5	5
Establish economic relations	2	3
Negotiations on the release of our POW's	2	*
Other answers	2	*
<u>Firmer attitude</u>	4%	18%
More resolute attitude than previously (perhaps even war)		
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	$\frac{1\%}{37\%}$	$\frac{1\%}{45\%}$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.





"Should West Germany now that it is a sovereign and independent state assume a different attitude towards Russia than before, or shouldn't it?"

IF "Yes, different attitude":

"In what respect should West Germany assume a different attitude towards Russia?"

West Germany

West Berlin

A - More conciliatory attitude

Establish normal (diplomatic) relations with Russia

9%

7%

"Germany should try to come to terms with Russia in one way or another. Normal diplomatic relations should be established."

"They should at least try to come into contact with the Russian government."

"Establish diplomatic relations. One cannot refuse to notice Russia's position in the world."

"It should establish friendly relations with Russia."

"One should try to adopt the same attitude toward Russia as Austria did."

Negotiations on German reunification 7

6

"With a view to reunification a rapprochement between the West German federal government and Russia should be brought about."

"The German government should urge that negotiations take place on German Reunification."

"It should try to establish tolerable relations with Russia, thus keeping open the chance for an eventual restitution of our territory in the East."

"Demonstratively give Berlin a more positive support so that the East realizes that West Germany is serious about reunification and that Berlin and the East zone belong to Germany."

"The idea of free elections which are really above-board should be made palatable to Russia."

Greater receptivity towards Soviet Proposals

5

5

"It should not reject Russian proposals too hastily."

"We should adopt a conciliatory attitude to avoid discouraging the Russians when they are trying to find a basis for an understanding."

"West Germany shouldn't altogether shut its eyes to Russian arguments concerning German rearmament."





"They shouldn't bluntly reject everything. It is better to negotiate 20 times than to shut the door on somebody just once."

Direct negotiations with Soviet Russia

5%

5%

"In matters concerning Russia they should become more independent and try to get in contact with the Russians by themselves. They would impress the Americans too."

"They should negotiate with Russia directly and reach an agreement on Germany."

"We should also enter into friendly negotiations with the Russians."

"It should try to enter into discussions with the Russians and keep the Americans out of it."

"I think, Adenauer should negotiate with Russia now that he is an independent statesman. In negotiations we could be a little more independent."

Establish economic relations

2

3

"We should seek to establish economic relations with the East. The East (Russia) is an agrarian country and therefore the natural partner for an industrial country like us."

"It should attempt to open negotiations with Russia on economic matters."

"Seek economic contact."

Negotiations on the release of our P.O.W's

2

\*

"West Germany emphatically demand the release of the POWs."

"They should try now to have the Russians release our POWs."

"Should seek closer contact with Russia so that the Russians will release our POWs."

Other Answers

2

\*

"Adopt the same attitude as toward the Western powers."

"We should leave them alone."





(Cont'd from preceding page)

West GermanyWest BerlinB - Firmer attitudeMore resolute attitude than previously  
(perhaps even war)

4%

18%

"I think that West Germany should adopt a firmer attitude - that's the language the Russians understand. Germany with its present Bonn government must display strong self-confidence and self-reliance."

"In my opinion Germany should make use of every opportunity to take a firm stand toward Russia. The Federal Republic should stop being weak and apologetic. Regarding the Autobahn issue for instance, the West should demand from every Eastern vehicle using the Western Autobahn an even higher toll."

"With the security our admission into NATO guarantees, our attitude should be firmer, more resolute."

"We should rearm for this would be a means for exerting pressure on Russia."

"They should approach the Russians with more firmness. The best would be to throw them out."

No opinion/no answer1  
37%<sup>@</sup>1  
45%<sup>@</sup>

\* Less than one half of one percent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



ONLY MINORITY OF WEST GERMANS AWARE THAT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS DO NOT EXIST WITH RUSSIA...

On a direct question as to whether they knew if diplomatic relations now existed between the Federal Republic and Russia only a minority (42%) knew the correct answer. A majority (52%) honestly admitted that they did not know, while six percent (6%) thought that they did. Even the usually well-informed people of West Berlin did not really know what relations were for their answers did not differ markedly from those in West Germany.

"Can you perhaps tell me whether at the present time diplomatic relations exist between the West German Federal Government and Russia?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>
	June	June	June
	54	55	55
	(599)	(626)	(297)
Yes, they do	5%	6%	13%
No, they do not	40	42	47
Don't know	55	52	40
	100%	100%	100%

OVERWHELMING AND INCREASING MAJORITY, FAVOR ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA. PROPONENTS BECOME OPPONENTS, HOWEVER, IF IT MEANS RECOGNIZING PRESENT EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT...

After informing those who did not know that relations were not maintained, everyone was asked whether he favored or opposed establishing diplomatic relations with Russia. Whereas 58% were in favor of this step a year ago, the percentage in favor of the step has risen to 79% at the present time. Fewer than one on ten (9%) opposes it.

Opposition to recognition of the East Zone government is so high that if establishment of diplomatic relations with Russia would mean that West Germany would have to recognize the present East Zone government, a majority of those in favor of the first step originally, would then turn around and oppose it.

"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>
	June	June	June
	54	55	55
	(599)	(626)	(297)
For it	58%	79%	83%
Against it	18	9	14
No opinion	24	12	3
	100%	100%	100%





(Cont'd from preceding page)

IF "For it":

"Would you be for diplomatic relations with Russia even if that would mean that West Germany would in the end have to recognize the present East Zone government, or would you under these circumstances be against it?" (Those for it, e.g. 58%, 79%, 83% taken as 100%)

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>
	June	June	June
	54	55	55
	(599)	(626)	(297)
Even then for it	22%	24%	25%
Then against it	60	60	69
No opinion	18	16	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

HALF OF WEST GERMAN POPULATION NOW FAVORS SETTING UP MILITARY FORCES...

In the past six months there has been a slight increase in the percentage of those in favor of the establishment of military forces so that now one out of every two people in West Germany (50%) is in favor of it, while the opposition group shows a correspondingly slight decline so that it is now exactly one out of three (34%)

West Berliners are considerably more in favor of re-  
viving a German army for there, almost three-quarters (74%) are for  
setting up forces now.

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>
"Are you for or against West Germany setting up military forces now?"	Jan	June	June
	55	55	55
	(1867)	(626)	(297)
Very much for it	18%	24%	44%
Somewhat for it	29	26	30
Somewhat against it	13	11	6
Very much against it	24	23	17
No opinion	16	16	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

YOUTHS NEED OF ORDER AND DISCIPLINE MOST OFTEN CITED AS REASON FOR  
SETTING UP MILITARY FORCES...

Throughout Western Germany (in the Federal Republic as well as in West Berlin) the leading reason advanced in favor of establishing military forces is that it will be beneficial in training young people by teaching them order and discipline. This line of reasoning was advanced by 20% of those in West Germany and 26% in West Berlin.





(Cont'd from preceding page)

"Are you for or against West Germany setting up military forces now?"

IF "Very much for it" or "Somewhat for it":  
"For what reasons are you for it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>For Defense and Security</u>	23%	48%
We need military forces for the defense of Germany (general)	15%	20%
We must protect ourselves against aggression from the East	5	19
Military forces are necessary to maintain internal security	1	4
We must help our Western allies with the defense of the free world	1	3
It is better to defend our country with our own forces	1	2
<u>For Prestige</u>	11	19
Every (sovereign) state has military forces	6	15
West Germany would gain much more prestige on the political scene	5	4
<u>For Economic Reasons</u>	2	7
More jobs would be available and German economy would thrive	2	7
<u>For Training Youth</u>	20	26
Our young people need military training	20	26
<u>Miscellaneous</u>	4	3
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	<u>1</u> 61% <sup>@</sup>	<u>*</u> 103% <sup>@</sup>

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

\* Less than half of one percent.



~~UNCLASSIFIED~~

"Are you for or against West Germany setting up military forces now?"

IF "Very much for it" or "Somewhat for it":  
"For what reasons are you for it?"

West Germany

West Berlin

A - For Defense and Security

We need military forces for the defense of Germany (general)

15%

20%

"Germany is situated in the center of Europe and must not be without an army if only to protect its borders."

"In order to safeguard Germany against aggression."

"Every nation must be able to protect its country and its freedom for that it needs military forces."

"The whole world is in arms therefore Germany cannot remain unarmed and defenseless."

"We need military forces for our own security and for our defense."

"Then we won't be at the mercy of other countries. They would not dare to attack us so readily."

We must protect ourselves against aggression from the East

5

19

"Because only strength will protect us - otherwise we might be overrun by the East."

"Because we need protection. If the Russians attack West Berlin one day there must be somebody to throw them out again."

"So that we can protect ourselves if necessary against the menace of Communism."

"We must protect ourselves. It has been proved in Korea that the Communists take anything they want."

Military forces are necessary to maintain internal security

1

4

A sovereign state needs military forces if only to prevent internal troubles and Communist-incited riots. Just as Switzerland needs military forces for its own peace and order, we too, need it."

"Every country needs military forces - to prevent riots for example."

We must help our Western allies with the defense of the free world

1

3

"Because we too must contribute our share for the protection of the free world."

"The situation demands our support of our Western allies - we would lose their friendship otherwise."

(Cont'd on next page)





(Cont'd from preceding page)

West GermanyWest BerlinIt is better to defend our country  
with our own forces

1%

2%

The English and the Americans won't stay here forever, that's why we must do things ourselves,"

"So that we don't have to ask the Americans to protect us. If it comes to war we must be able to protect our young generation with our own German army."

B - For PrestigeEvery (sovereign) state has military  
forces

6

15

"Every sovereign state has military forces, that's why Germany too should have soldiers."

"Because there can't be a proper state without military forces."

"Never in history has there been a sovereign state without a considerable army."

"Even the smallest states, particularly border countries, have military forces."

"As a nation, we have a right to have our own soldiers."

West Germany would gain much more  
prestige on the political scene

5

4

"If a country wants to have some weight in world politics it must have an army."

"We must again have a say in politics. Without soldiers we're just nobody."

"If we set up military forces we can negotiate much more successfully than if we don't have an army. We would be more of an equal partner then. Our political weight will increase with the setting up of military forces."

C - For Economic ReasonsMore jobs would be available and  
German economy would thrive

2

7

"Then the unemployment problem would become less acute because there would be more work in our industry."

"It would at least take the unemployed off the streets and the whole working process would be stepped up."

"When the young ones go to the army the old people would get jobs again."

(Cont'd on next page)





West GermanyWest BerlinDo\* For Training youthOur young people need military training

20%

26%

"Every state should have any army, if only to train its young people."

"If young people are properly disciplined it's an advantage for them in their later years. If they've been in the army they become different, more decent people. They don't merely get technical training in the army for it also helps to develop their personality."

"It would provide the youngsters with a rounded education."

"Strict order has never done any harm and it's especially good for our modern youth."

Miscellaneous

4

3

"My husband also was in the army. Yes, I am very much for it. I come from a soldiers' town and see no reason why we should have no military forces."

"We will perhaps need it for our Saar one day."

"Experience has shown that setting up an army will perhaps lead to war in 10 years' time. But on the other hand we need an army - otherwise we'll be worse off still."

No opinion/No answer

 $\frac{1}{61\%}$  @ $\frac{*}{103\%}$  @

\* Less than half of one percent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer



## OPPOSITION TO REARMAMENT BASED ON FEAR OF A NEW WAR...

The reason most often advanced in opposition to setting up military forces now is the fear that rearmament in itself will somehow lead to a new war with all its concomitant catastrophies. This reason was given by 20% in West Germany and by 12% of those in West Berlin.

"Are you for or against West Germany setting up military forces now?"

IF "Somewhat against it" or "Very much against it":  
"For what reasons are you against it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Rearmanent will bring on the danger and sufferings of a new war</u>	20%	12%
"Because I fear that it will lead to a new war."		
"So far armanent programs have always brought on wars."		
"This will hasten the outbreak of war, and if that happens the whole East, including Asia will overrun us."		
"I am afraid that once we start having soldiers again, there will soon be a new war."		
"Because German rearmament will threaten peace."		
<u>I am against military forces on principle (pacifism)</u>	3	2
"On principle - I am against war and also against any type of military forces."		
"Because I reject military forces on principle."		
"I'm a pacifist and I know that in a future war, whether or not we have military forces, we will suffer."		
<u>Rearmanent is too expensive and the money should be used for other purposes</u>	2	2
"We don't need any military forces at all. It only costs money and doesn't pay off."		
"They should first settle the pensions for war victims. My father has been fighting for his pension for three years now."		
"If all nations would agree that they would only maintain a small police force, it would work."		
<u>We don't need military forces</u>	2	2
"In my opinion, a strong police force is enough for maintaining peace and order."		
"Those few divisions couldn't be of any use for us anyhow."		

(Cont'd on next page)





(Cont'd from preceding page)

West GermanyWest BerlinNew negotiations with Russia are more important

2%

1%

"Because it is my conviction that it is more important to negotiate with the Russians first."

"Before anything else is done, we should listen to what Russia has to say"

We will merely serve as cannon fodder and would have to fight for the interests of others

2

1

"Because in case of war, we will only be cannon fodder for the Allies."

"Because in a new war we would have to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the others."

Rearmament would delay or endanger reunification

1

3

"I'm against it for the time being because it would delay reunification."

"Because this would make the situation even more complicated than it is already."

"We should make peace in Germany first - I mean peace between East and West Germany. Reunification is more important than rearmament."

Germany and its soldiers have been treated unfairly after the war

1

1

"First they spit on the German soldiers, and now they want them to stick out their necks for those people, No!"

"Because later on soldiers will be looked upon as war criminals again."

It is still too early for rearmament

1

1

"I think it isn't necessary yet."

"Because we aren't ready for it yet. Our leading people aren't democratic enough."

Not all prisoners of the last war have returned yet

1

\*

"Many of our POWs and missing soldiers are still unaccounted for."

"Because the soldiers of the last war haven't returned from prison camps yet."

Rearmament will bring on a war between brothers

\*

2

"Then there would be the danger of Germans fighting against Germans."

"Not before reunification is achieved otherwise it might lead to a war between brothers."

(Cont'd on next page)

CHURCHMAN



(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Miscellaneous Replies</u>	<u>2%</u> 37% <sup>a</sup>	<u>1%</u> 28% <sup>a</sup>

# MAJORITY BELIEVES GERMAN FORCES NEEDED TO DEFEND WESTERN EUROPE...

In case of attack from the East a sizeable majority believe that Western Europe cannot be successfully defended without German military forces - 56% in Western Germany and 65% in West Berlin.

"Do you believe that in case of an attack from the East, Western Europe can be defended successfully without German military forces, or don't you think so?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Can be done	13%	24%
Cannot be done	56	65
No opinion	<u>31</u>	<u>11</u>
	100%	100%

A majority (55%) of those who believe that Western Europe can be defended without the use of German military forces are opposed to Germany setting up her own military forces now. A strong minority (44%), while thinking that German forces would be unnecessary are still in favor of German rearmament. On the other hand, while two-thirds (66%) of those who believe that Western Europe could not be successfully defended without German forces are (logically) in favor of setting up such forces, about one quarter (27%) are inconsistent. This group, while saying German forces are necessary for the successful defence of Western Europe are nevertheless opposed to the creation of the very force which they admit is necessary.

"Do you believe that in case of an attack from the East, Western Europe can be defended successfully without German military forces, or don't you think so?"

		<u>Can be done</u>	<u>Cannot be done</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
"Are you for or against West Germany setting up military forces now?"	For	44%	66%	26%
	Against	55	27	37
	No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>37</u>
		100% (82)	100% (352)	100% (192)

<sup>a</sup> Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## SOVEREIGNTY VIEWED AS AN AID IN ACHIEVING REUNIFICATION...

By and large, sovereignty is viewed in West Germany as having improved chances for reunification rather than as having hindered it since three out of ten (30%) think that it has improved matters while only one in ten (9%) believes it has worsened chances. It is worth nothing, however, that the majority believes that it has not altered the situation (39%) or cannot decide what effect it has had (22%).

"In your opinion, have the chances for reunification improved or worsened through our having obtained sovereignty?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Improved	30%	42%
Worsened	9	13
Remained unchanged	39	35
No opinion	22	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## IMPROVED CHANCES FOR REUNIFICATION ATTRIBUTED TO STRENGTHENED POSITION, WORSENERD CHANCES TO RATIFICATION OF PARIS ACCORDS...

Over half of all reasons advanced for the improved chances of achieving reunification mention the new strengthened position West German has obtained as a result of sovereignty. Most of those in that small group who felt that chances have become worse mentioned features of the Paris Accords which brought Western Germany into the Western Defence System.

"In your opinion, have the chances for reunification improved or worsened through our having obtained sovereignty?"

IF Improved:

"In what respect have the chances for reunification improved through that?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Sovereignty has strengthened our hand in negotiations</u>	14%	19%

"As a sovereign government we have a say as well and can put forward our claims."

"Because Germany, that means to say Adenauer, has equal rights with the Russians and the Americans. He can take a firmer stand now."

"I believe that the Russians would show more respect to us now."

"We can take a much firmer stand against the Russians, we are stronger now."

"Up till now our hands were tied but now we can put steam on and take a firm attitude toward the Russians."

"A sovereign nation can maintain its rights and act independently. The Eastern Powers will be more impressed by that."

"Now that we're independent we can take quite a different attitude when negotiating with the East."

(Cont'd on next page)





Our common front with the Western Powers  
has strengthened our position

4%

6%

"When West Germany was granted its sovereignty it became a member of NATO so that we've achieved a position of strength which will have to be respected by the Russians."

"We can't be overlooked anymore, we're no longer alone. Russia can't hold out against the military strength of the Western Powers and will have to give in with regard to this problem."

"Because by West Germany's sovereignty, the Western Powers have become a solid front against Russia. This enables us to take a firm attitude against the Russians."

"Because by uniting with the West we've become stronger."

Russia has become more approachable  
and more willing to negotiate

4

6

"The Russians have taken a more yielding attitude. You can see that in other respects, too. They are willing to recognize German sovereignty, that's what the Russians said when they took leave from Tito. I just heard it over the radio, the Russians want to surprise the West to the positive, for a change."

"Even though we've ratified the Paris agreement the Russians are more willing to negotiate and have approached us with this view."

"The East has become more approachable. They give in a bit more. You can see that everywhere."

The Federal Government can now negotiate  
directly with the Russians

2

3

"Now we can negotiate directly with the East."

"Now Western Germany can enter into private negotiations with the Russians for a sovereign nation can take steps on its own account."

"We can now negotiate independently. We needn't always ask the Americans' permission."

Russia is more likely to agree to German  
reunification if we establish an army of  
our own

1

3

"I suppose that once we have an army again the Russians will give in after a certain time."

"The Russians can only be impressed by strength and now we can establish an army."

(Cont'd on next page)





(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Other answers</u>	4%	4%
"Things in general show an upward trend."		
"It's always been so that with time everything will get better."		
"Well, that's just a matter of feeling but I can't say anything for certain."		
"This will make the Eastern Powers see that Germany will stick to its promises, etc."		
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	4%	2
	33% <sup>@</sup>	43% <sup>@</sup>

"In your opinion, have the chances for reunification improved or worsened through our having obtained sovereignty?"

IF Worsened:

"In what respect have the chances for reunification worsened through that?"

<u>Because West Germany has joined the Western Military (Paris Agreements) block</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	5%	6%

"We've been included in the Western defense plans and the Russians regard this as a hindrance to them."

"Because West Germany was included in the Western Defense Community, Russia has taken a very obstinate attitude."

"Because we are going to rearm and Russia regards this as dangerous for itself."

"Russia is against the Paris Accords - consequently the chances for reunification have worsened."

"The Russians said that if we would ratify the Paris Accords we would be the worse with regard to reunification."

Because, by West Germany's sovereignty the division of Germany will be even more marked

2

3

"As it was before conditions were the same in both parts of Germany, both were occupied, now one of them - West Germany - is free - that's no good with regard to negotiations."

"Because the Russians want everything for themselves, they won't yield now and give up the East Zone voluntarily."

"Because I think that now the Russians won't go unless they are forced to."

(Cont'd on next page)

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Because Russia even increased the terror against Berlin</u>	1%	2%
"You can see that from the measures taken by the East against Berlin, for instance the taxes for using the autobahn."		
"Well, that's clearly to be seen-- things in Berlin get worse instead of better, the Russians increase their terror all the time."		
<u>Other answers</u>	2	2
"Because England and France show little interest in our reunification."		
"Because Germany can't bring about its reunification if it's all on its own."		
No opinion/no answer	*	1
	<u>10%<sup>@</sup></u>	<u>14%<sup>@</sup></u>

\* Less than one half of one percent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.





## PART II - THE AUSTRIAN SOLUTION

Section A - Awareness

SEVEN OUT OF TEN IN WEST GERMANY, EIGHT OUT OF TEN IN WEST BERLIN, KNEW OF AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR RAAB'S VISIT TO MOSCOW...

Austrian Chancellor Raab's trip to Moscow was evidently a well publicized event in Western Germany for seven out of ten in West Germany (70%) and almost eight out of ten in West Berlin (79%) had heard or read of his visit.

"Have you heard or read that Austrian Chancellor Raab has visited Moscow recently?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	70%	79%
No	<u>30</u>	<u>21</u>
	100%	100%

SIMILAR NUMBERS KNEW OF SIGNING OF AUSTRIAN STATE TREATY...

Almost identical proportions knew about the signing of the Austrian State Treaty as knew of Raab's visit to Moscow for 66% in Western Germany and 80% in West Berlin said they knew of the signing.

"And can you perhaps tell me whether the Austrian state treaty, or peace treaty was signed?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	66%	80%
No, don't know	<u>34</u>	<u>20</u>
	100%	100%

NOTE - In order to obtain reactions to the Austrian Treaty the following paragraph was furnished to all.

INFORMATION FOR ALL:

On Sunday, May 15, the Austrian state treaty was signed in Vienna. Under the provisions of this treaty the occupation forces must leave Austria by the end of the year at the latest and full sovereignty is restored to Austria which may set up armed forces unlimited in strength. Furthermore, Austria is expected to remain neutral between East and West.





MAJORITY IN WEST GERMAN UNDECIDED AS TO WHETHER AUSTRIAN TREATY CAN BE CONSIDERED A SUCCESS FOR THE WESTERN POWERS. BERLINERS TEND TO CONSIDER IT A SUCCESS...

A majority (51%) of those in West Germany are undecided as to whether the Russian attitude on the Austrian question could be considered a success for the policies for the Western Powers or not. Among those with an opinion more tended to think that it was not (26% said it was not while 23 % said that it was).

Almost half (47%) of those in West Berlin, on the other hand thought that it was a success, while one-third (33%) thought that it was not.

"Do you feel that the present Russian attitude on the Austrian question is to be regarded as a success of the policy of the Western powers, or don't you think so?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Success of the Western Powers	23%	47%
No success of the Western Powers	26	33
No opinion	<u>51</u>	<u>20</u>
	100%	100%

#### Section B - Appeal of the Austrian Solution

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WOULD WANT ADENAUER TO GO TO MOSCOW TOO...

In the event that the Russians would invite Chancellor Adenauer to come to Moscow to discuss reunification of Germany independently of the other Powers about eight out of ten West Germans (77% in West Germany and 81% in West Berlin) would want him to accept the invitation. Fewer than one in ten (7%) in West Germany would want him to refuse.

Supposing Chancellor Dr. Adenauer would be invited by the Russians to come to Moscow to discuss the reunification of Germany independently. In your opinion, should he accept such an invitation or should he not?

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Accept	77%	81%
Not accept	7	17
No opinion	<u>16</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%



## PLURALITY CONSIDERS AUSTRIAN TYPE SOLUTION POSSIBLE FOR GERMANY...

While about one-third (32%) of the people in West Germany are undecided, almost twice as many believe that a solution similar to that for Austria is possible for Germany as believe it would not be possible (41% as against 27%)

"Do you believe that a solution similar to that for Austria would be possible for Germany, or don't you think so?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Possible for Germany	41%	46%
Not possible for Germany	27	45
No opinion	<u>32</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%

## MANY REASONS PROPOSED WHY SIMILAR SOLUTION POSSIBLE...

While a variety of different reasons were given to show why a solution similar to that for Austria would be possible for Germany, the two leading reasons mentioned, the similarity between the German and Austrian political situations (8% in West Germany and 16% in West Berlin) and the feeling that the Russians would agree to such a solution for Germany (5% and 6%)

"Do you believe that a solution similar to that for Austria would be possible for Germany or don't you think so?"

IF "Possible for Germany"

"Why do you consider a similar solution to be possible for Germany?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>The political situation in Germany is similar to conditions in Austria</u>	8%	16%

"It's the same situation. After all, Austria also has lost a war and is occupied by all four of the victorious powers."

"The situation is exactly the same, what the Austrians can do, we can pull off also."

"Although there are some imponderables in the relationship between the two countries, political conditions aren't so basically different as to preclude a similar solution."

"Because things in our country are just as they are in Austria. All Four Powers have held the country occupied, now they've arrived at a settlement. I don't see why this shouldn't be possible also in our case."

(Cont'd on next page)





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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
"In the final analysis, we are in the same position as the Austrians, therefore it can be assumed that things will develop along the same lines in our country."		
<u>The Russians can be counted on to agree to such a solution</u>	5%	6%
"If Germany stays neutral, the Russians won't feel menaced. If the West really wants peace, they should ask for direct negotiations to be held."		
"We can reach an agreement with the Russians if we meet their wishes as the Austrians did."		
"Because as time passes the Russians will yield to Western pressure and then such a solution will be feasible also for Germany."		
"As the West has built up its strength, the Russians will be more ready to give in in order to stave off a new war."		
<u>There is a good chance for East and West to come to terms</u>	4	3
"Because all sides have a desire for peace."		
"Because the Russians also want to maintain peace."		
"The Russians could come round just as the Americans can."		
<u>Neutralization of Germany would serve our interests</u>	2	5
"It's the only successful approach to reunification and a neutralization of our country can never be harmful to us."		
"I'm convinced that all countries would benefit from a neutralization of Germany for then war could be avoided."		
"If we remain neutral, we can invest the funds earmarked for the rearmament program in our economy."		
<u>The status quo cannot be maintained</u>	1	2
"The division of Germany must be ended."		
"The occupation powers cannot stay on till the end of time."		
<u>In our case, also, direct negotiations may lead to success</u>	1	1
"Two parties are more likely to reach an agreement than four or six conferees."		
"If we talk things over directly with the Russians then such a solution is feasible."		

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Such a settlement is the only feasible solution</u>	1%	1%
"No other approach is possible with the Russians."		
"There is no harm in trying, it seems there is no other possibility."		
<u>Although feasible, considerable obstacles have to be overcome</u>	1	1
"I guess such a solution is possible, but there are some flaws as far as we are concerned."		
"Well, I have some misgivings about it. There would be quite a few obstacles to surmount."		
<u>Other and General Answers</u>	3	1
"I'm sure our statesmen are just as smart as the Austrians."		
"Because full sovereignty has been restored to our country."		
"War would thus be avoided in Europe."		
<u>No opinion - No answer - Irrelevant answers</u>	<u>15</u> 41%	<u>11</u> 47% <sup>a</sup>

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



THOSE OPPOSED SAY IT CONFLICTS WITH GERMAN SELF INTERESTS...

"Do you believe that a solution similar to that for Austria would be possible for Germany, or don't you think so?"

IF "Not possible for Germany":

"Why don't you consider a similar solution to be possible for Germany?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>West Germany Would Not Agree to Such A Solution</u>	12%	16%
Germany cannot afford to be neutral for political reasons	6%	7%
Germany has committed itself to the West	4	6
Germany cannot afford to be neutral for economic reasons	2	3
<u>The Prerequisites for Such A Solution Are Missing</u>	11%	23%
The circumstances are different in Germany	4	7
Germany is a far larger country than Austria	4	3
Germany's geographic situation precludes a neutralization	2	7
Contrary to Austria, Germany is divided into two parts	1	6
<u>The Soviet Union Would Reject Such A Solution</u>	3%	9%
The Soviet Union would not agree to such a settlement	3	9
<u>Miscellaneous</u>		
Other answers	3%	3%
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	$\frac{1}{30\%}$ @	$\frac{*}{51\%}$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



SECRET

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"Do you believe that a solution similar to that for Austria would be possible for Germany, or don't you think so?"

IF "Not possible for Germany":

"Why don't you consider a similar solution to be possible for Germany?"

West Germany    West Berlin

BECAUSE WEST GERMANY WOULD NOT AGREE TO SUCH A SOLUTION

Germany cannot afford to be neutral for political reasons:

6%

7%

"Germany cannot be neutral as this would imply that it recognizes the Oder-Neisse line, and that just cannot be done."

"Germany would never manage to stay strictly neutral, for it has always been a bone of contention; and if we'd stay neutral now, then some fine day some party will pull off something and the whole sorry story will start all over again."

"As a price for respecting our neutrality, the Russians would demand that we renounce our claims to the territories East of the Oder-Neisse line. This we cannot do."

"If we were neutral, there would be the danger of Communist infiltration."

"Because Adenauer wouldn't sign such a treaty, as he would realize that it would land us in a mess if we were neutral."

Germany has committed itself to the West:

4

6

"Because we have entered into an alliance with the Western Powers."

"Because, as it is, Germany has established close ties with the West."

"Because we are bound to the West through the Paris treaties."

Germany cannot afford to be neutral for economic reasons:

2

3

"Germany cannot afford to be neutral for economic reasons. If it would export goods to the East, for instance, the Americans would be sore, and if it didn't, the others would be angry, therefore we cannot be neutral."

"Neutralization wouldn't be a good thing for Germany, because it might upset the economic structure of the country."

"Neutrality would be detrimental to our economy."

(Cont'd on next page)





BECAUSE THE PREREQUISITES FOR SUCH A SOLUTION ARE MISSING

<u>The circumstances are different in Germany:</u>	4%	7%
"Because conditions are different in Germany."		
"More is at stake in the case of Germany."		
"Because Germany isn't Austria."		

<u>Germany is a far larger country than Austria:</u>	4	3
"We are a much larger nation and therefore we have to throw in our lot with some powerful country. We cannot afford to stay neutral, only small countries can do that."		
"Because Germany is a much larger country, and that's just why it will not be so easy to find a solution as in the case of Austria."		
"Because we are a nation of 60 million people, while Austria has only 6 million inhabitants, we cannot afford to be neutral."		

<u>Germany's geographic situation precludes a neutralization:</u>	2	7
"As the pivot in Central Europe we have to fulfill much more important tasks than insignificant Austria."		
"Due to Germany's geographic location, a neutral status similar to that of Austria or Switzerland is impracticable for us."		
"Because one cannot neutralize the heart of Europe."		

<u>Contrary to Austria, Germany is divided into two parts:</u>	1	6
"Because Austria hadn't been cut into two as our country still is today."		
"Austria hadn't been divided into two zones as our country. There always was only one government for the whole of Austria."		
"This division of Germany is the chief obstacle to a settlement, for both parties fear to lose something. Neither of them wants to recognize the other."		

BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION WOULD REJECT SUCH A SOLUTION

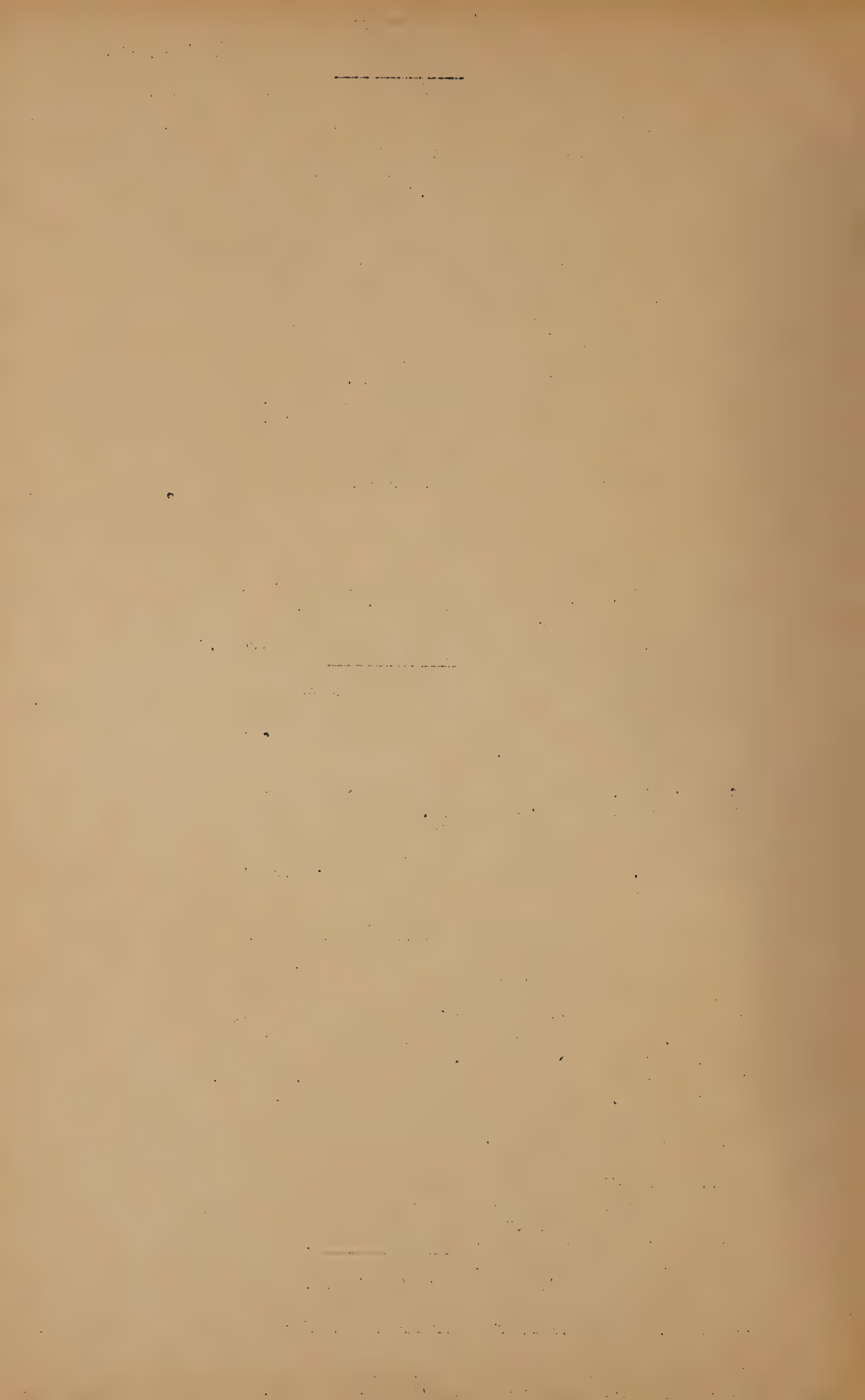
<u>Because the Soviet Union would not agree to such a settlement:</u>	3	9
"The Russians won't relinquish our Eastern territories. They will never sanction a settlement similar to that of Austria."		
"It would mean Russia had to stab its ally, Poland, in the back, and they won't do such a thing."		
"The Russians will not make any concessions as far as Germany is concerned."		

<u>Other answers:</u>	3	3
"The Austrians are on friendlier terms with the Russians than we are."		
"If we have an army and are strong enough, then yes, but not before that."		
"Because the West is not interested in it."		

<u>No opinion - No answer - Irrelevant answers:</u>	1 30% <sup>@</sup>	* 51% <sup>@</sup>
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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



Section A - Awareness

AWARENESS OF COMING FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE EXTREMELY HIGH...

Considering the fact that knowledge of the coming Four-Power Conference involves knowledge of a future event, rather than a current or recently transpired event, the extent of awareness is extremely high in Western Germany. Seven out of ten in West Germany (70%) and well over eight out of ten in West Berlin (84%) have heard of the plans.

"Have you perhaps heard or read that it is planned to arrange a Four Power conference at which the future of Germany and reunification are, among other things, to be discussed?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, have heard	70%	84 %
No, haven't heard	30	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Section B - Expectations

RIISING OPTIMISM OVER CHANCES TO SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATE WITH THE RUSSIANS...

There is a rising tide of optimism in West Germany over the chances to achieve something through negotiations with the Russians at the present time. Whereas last year fewer than two in ten (17%) would say that the chances to achieve something had increased, almost five out of ten (48%) think so today. Pessimism has decreased, for now only seven percent (7%) think that chances have decreased, while formerly twice as many (14-15%) thought so.

"Are you of the opinion that the chances to achieve something through negotiations with the Russians have increased or decreased lately?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>
	June 1954	August 1954	June 1955	June 1955
	(599)	(902)	(626)	(297)
Increased	17%	17%	48%	64%
Decreased	14	15	7	6
Are the same	51	46	25	26
No opinion	18	22	20	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

(Cont'd on next page)





Opinion over the chances of achieving German reunification at the planned Four-Power Conference, however, is quite low. Less than one person in ten (7%) considers the chances "good" or "very good."

"In your opinion, how good would the chances be at such a Four-Power conference for achieving a reunification under conditions acceptable to us?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	June 1955 (626)	June 1955 (297)
Very good	1%	4%
Good	6	9
Fair	31	41
Poor	29	26
Very poor	14	15
No opinion	19	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

OPINION ALMOST EVENLY DIVIDED ON WHETHER GERMANY COULD ACHIEVE MORE FOR REUNIFICATION THROUGH INDEPENDENT, DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS THAN THROUGH FOUR POWER CONFERENCE...

A first clue as to the lure of the so-called Austrian Solution (which was preceded by Raab's Moscow negotiations) is seen in answers to this question. While four out of ten (39%) could not decide whether independent, direct negotiations would gain more or not, almost equal numbers thought that it would return more (29%) as thought that it would not. (32%)

"Do you believe West Germany could achieve more for a reunification through independent and direct negotiations with the East than through a Four Power conference or don't you think so?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
More	29%	27%
Not more	32	62
No opinion	39	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>





PROPONENTS OF DIRECT TALKS FEEL OTHER NATIONS WOULD COMPLICATE NEGOTIATIONS. THOSE OPPOSED FEEL GERMANY IS TOO WEAK TO FACE RUSSIA ALONE...

"Do you believe West Germany could achieve more for a reunification through independent and direct negotiations with the East than through a Four Power conference, or don't you think so?"

IF "More:

"What makes you think so?"

West Germany

West Berlin

In direct negotiations only Germany's problems would be faced and so could be solved.

21%

22%

"If we negotiate directly with the East it means that only two parties put forward their views, otherwise there would be four or five different opinions which would be difficult to reconcile."

"I feel that at such big conferences too many other issues are dealt with, thus the conferees are apt to be distracted from the German problem."

"I'm sure more could be achieved by direct talks. We'd have the Russians to ourselves and could discuss things with them, then they needn't fear to lose face before the others."

"As I see it, the Western Powers hold conflicting opinions, and each of these nations will try to make the most of the situation."

"Our very own interests are at stake and you are always the best advocate of your cause."

"Because the chances are better for two parties to come to terms than for four."

The Russians are likely to be more understanding and obliging towards the Germans than towards the Allies

5

4

"I believe the Russians are more reserved when dealing with the Americans than with us."

"The Russians despise the Americans. If they had to deal with us only, there would be a better chance of negotiations turning out successfully."

"The Russians will get to know our wishes, I mean, what we actually want without the Americans influencing us."

"I am of the opinion that the Russians will be more willing to yield when dealing with Mr. Adenauer than with the Yanks, for they just cannot stand the Yanks."

(Cont'd on next page)



Russia takes a keen interest in Germany  
for political and economic reasons

1%

1%

"The Russians are more interested in Germany than the Americans are. They realize that if they control Germany they can challenge any nation's world rule."

"I am of the opinion that the East is interested in smooth cooperation with Germany. It would boost their economy, however, if they'd work together with the whole of Germany."

Negotiations between the East Zone government  
and the Federal Government will be more  
successful than a Four Power conference for  
national reasons.

\*

2

"I'm all for talks provided the East Zone government will conduct the negotiations. There is no need for us to negotiate with the Russians. The East Zone government would be more conciliatory, for these people are interested in bringing about German reunification, too."

Other answers:

2

1

"Maybe the Germans will be more objective and not so stubborn as the Allies."

"One should try this approach, afterwards there still is time to consider the next step."

No opinion - No answer - Irrelevant answers

1

1

30%@34%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

\* Less than one half of one per cent.





"Do you believe West Germany could achieve more for a reunification through independent and direct negotiations with the East than through a Four Power conference, or don't you think so?"

IF "Not More"

"What makes you think so?"

West Germany

West Berlin

West Germany is too weak without the assistance of the Western Powers

16%

31%

"The Russians only respect strength and we are so weak that the Russians would just dictate to us."

"Russia will only make concessions if its opponent at negotiations is strong, therefore the whole of Europe and the U.S. must face Russia."

"Because West Germany is too weak a country, it is unable to exert pressure and therefore all alone we are no match for the East."

"At a Four Power conference the Western Powers will back us up to some extent, but all alone West Germany cannot take on the East as it's not powerful enough."

West Germany is tied to the West - it is not free to conduct negotiations on its own.

7

9

"We have thrown in our lot with the West, now we must jump with the jumping cats. Only if we act jointly with the West, will we get somewhere."

"Because it's a fact that West Germany is tied to the West, and therefore it has to consider the Western Powers' point of view."

"We have made promises to the West which we cannot break, or we'd be disloyal and would betray our allies, we must stick by them and act in accordance with them."

Russia would not recognize West Germany as a legitimate conferee at negotiations

4

8

"The Russians stated that they will not accept the Federal Government as a conferee."

"This would imply that the Eastern bloc recognizes West Germany. They'd relinquish the claim they've upheld till now that only the German Democratic Republic is the legitimate representative of an all-Germany, and the East cannot possibly do that."

"I feel the West German government will not be recognized as a full-fledged conferee as in the eyes of the Russians the East Zone government is the legitimate German government."



	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>The victorious powers are responsible for the division of Germany and therefore it is their duty to end it</u>	1%	5%
"Those four nations have got us into this mess, now let them straighten things out again."		
"The Big Four undoubtedly can achieve more for us than we can ourselves when proceeding on our own, they have partitioned our country and they should now see to it that it's reunited."		
<u>The German problem can be solved only in connection with other issues of world politics</u>	1	5
"Reunification is only one item on the slate of world politics, armament control, ban of atomic weapons and the Fernosa problem, all these things are inter-related."		
"In my opinion, Russia considers Germany as a plaything which is of no great importance. They think they can perhaps make a bargain, getting something in exchange for sanctioning German reunification."		
<u>The representatives of the Federal Government are not skillful enough for conducting such negotiations</u>	*	2
"Our representatives aren't such skillful diplomats as the officials of the Western Powers."		
"To be frank, I think that apart from Dr. Adenauer, there are hardly any capable people in Bonn."		
<u>Other answers</u>	4	6
"A Four Power conference gives a better guarantee for fair play."		
"If four conferees cannot come to terms two parties won't do so, either."		
"If we try to apply the Austrian settlement to our situation, we'll end up in a blind alley."		
<u>No opinion - No answer - Irrelevant answers</u>	$\frac{1}{34\%}$ @	$\frac{1}{67\%}$ @

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer

\* Less than one half of one percent.





WESTERN POWERS REGARDED AS MORE EARNEST ADVOCATES OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION....

A majority (51%) in West Germany and almost three quarters (72%) of those in West Berlin believe that the Western Powers will advocate the reunification of Germany more earnestly at the Conference than will Russia. Only five percent (5%) have more faith in Russia.

"Who, do you think, will more earnestly advocate the reunification of Germany at a Four Power conference: Russia or the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Russia	5%	5%
Western Powers	51	72
Both will do equally much	13	15
Both will do equally little	15	5
No opinion	16	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

#### Section C - Conference Pre-Conditions

OPINION EVENLY DIVIDED ON IMPLEMENTING PARIS ACCORDS NOW OR WAITING UNTIL AFTER THE CONFERENCE.

Whereas a previous survey of opinion in West Germany\* showed a small plurality in favor of going ahead with Western plans rather than waiting until after a possible conference, now for the first time those preferring to wait are apparently more in number than those wanting to go ahead. The entire balance is finely drawn, however, since the percentages of those saying wait, go ahead, or cannot decide are 34%, 32% and 34% respectively.

"In your opinion, should the West German Federal Government wait before taking measures for executing the Paris Accords until after the Four Power conference, or should it - independently of it - go right ahead with the execution of these treaties?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Wait until after the Four Power conference	34%	32%
Execute treaty immediately	32	55
No opinion	34	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\*An October 1954 survey asked "If an East-West conference were agreed upon, do you think that the West should still go ahead with present London plans to integrate Germany into West European defense, or do you think that all efforts should be postponed until results of such a conference are known?" At that time 41% said "go ahead" while 34% wished to postpone further action on the Western plans."



ON CONDITIONS SET UP BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT -

MAJORITIES INSIST ON {GERMANY AS A MEMBER OF COMMUNITY OF FREE  
NATIONS.  
{GERMAN FREEDOM TO CONTRACT MILITARY  
ALLIANCES

THEY DO NOT INSIST ON RETENTION OF NATO BASIS...

On the three conditions set forth by the Federal Republic of Germany some time ago, it is interesting that only the retention of the NATO bases fails to secure approval of a majority of those in West Germany. Even in West Berlin, where it does secure a majority, it trails the other two.

"The Federal Government set up the following conditions for a Four Power conference. In your opinion, on which of them should the Federal Government insist, and on which not?

- A - A reunited Germany must be a member of the community of free nations.
- B - A reunited Germany must be free to contract military alliances.
- C - In a reunited Germany the military bases of the West, that is, of NATO, are to be maintained.

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
Should insist	74%	60%	32%	90%	75%	53%
Should not insist	4	14	34	5	18	36
No opinion	22	26	34	5	7	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Section D - Neutrality Proposals

FOR THE FIRST TIME NEUTRALITY PREFERRED OVER INCORPORATION INTO WESTERN DEFENCE SYSTEM

While in the past sizeable minorities always indicated that they would prefer a possible Russian proposal for a reunited, but neutral Germany, greater numbers preferred present plans to incorporate Germany into the Western defence system. Now, for the first time - although the difference is slight - more people say they would prefer such a suggestion (36%) than say they would prefer present Western plans (34%).

"Suppose the Russians proposed that Germany be reunited with free elections, but could not enter alliances with either the West or the East: which would you prefer - this suggestion or present plans to incorporate West Germany into the Western defence system."

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Oct 1954 (836)	April 1955 (843)	June 1955 (626)	April 1955 (302)	June 1955 (297)
Prefer Russian suggestion	33%	31%	36%	29%	37%
Prefer present Western plans	44	40	34	67	55
Don't know	23	29	30	4	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%





ARMED, NEUTRAL GERMANY GUARANTEED BY EAST AND WEST DECISIVELY APPROVED:..

The idea of an armed, neutral, reunited Germany, whose security would be guaranteed by both Russia and the Western Powers finds wide-spread approval in all of West Germany. It is approved by more than six-tenths of the population (61%) in West Germany and by more than seven-tenths (75%) in West Berlin.

"Would you, in order to achieve a reunification, approve of an armed, but neutral all-Germany if the Western Powers and Russia would guarantee Germany's security, or would you disapprove of those conditions for a reunification?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	61%	75%
Disapprove	13	21
No opinion	26	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GERMANS UNDECIDED WHETHER THE WESTERN POWERS OR RUSSIA WOULD GIVE THE NECESSARY SECURITY GUARANTEE...

Opinion in West Germany is almost evenly divided as to whether the Western Powers or Russia would or would not give an armed, reunited, but neutral Germany a security guarantee. For both East and West roughly one-third thinks they will, another third thinks they will not, and the remaining third cannot decide.

"Do you believe the Western Powers would give such a guarantee if a reunited Germany would be armed, but were pledged to remain neutral, or are you of the opinion that the Western Powers would not give a guarantee for Germany's security under those circumstances?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Would give a guarantee	31%	61%
Would not give a guarantee	32	31
No opinion	37	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you believe Russia would guarantee the security of an armed, but neutral all-Germany, or don't you think so?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, would give guarantee	34%	45%
No, would not give guarantee	32	46
No opinion	34	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



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MAJORITY WOULD RELY ON WESTERN POWERS GUARANTEE, BUT MAJORITY WOULD  
NOT RELY ON RUSSIAN GUARANTEE...

Although there is some doubt as to whether they would receive security guarantees from the Western Powers and from Russia, there is little doubt that if such guarantees were given a majority in West Germany (56%) and in West Berlin (84%) feel they could rely on the word of the West. Equally emphatic are the results which show that a majority in West Germany (62%) and in West Berlin (74%) would feel little reliance in the Russian guarantee.

"Do you believe an armed, but neutral all-Germany could rely on such a guarantee given by the Western Powers, or don't you think so? (Rely strongly, to some extent, only little or not at all?)  
And how about Russia? Do you believe one could rely on such a guarantee? (Rely strongly, to some extent, only little or not at all?)

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Western Powers:</u>		
Rely strongly	24% } 56%	52% } 84%
Rely to some extent	32	32
Rely only little	12 } 23%	8 } 11%
Rely not at all	11	3
No opinion	21	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Russia:</u>		
Rely strongly	5% } 17%	5% } 20%
Rely to some extent	12	15
Rely only little	23 } 62%	27 } 74%
Rely not at all	39	47
No opinion	21	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

NEUTRAL BELT CONCEPT APPROVED - OPINION ON UNARMED, NEUTRAL GERMANY DIVIDED...

Whereas the neutral belt concept gains plurality approval in West Germany (41% approve as against 28% who disapprove), and majority approval (58%) in West Berlin, the idea of an unarmed, neutral Germany relying on security guarantees from the East and West meets with more resistance. It has its appeal, however, for 40% in West Germany approve of the idea, while 37% do not. Even in West Berlin, while a majority does not approve (59%), a sizeable minority (31%) thinks it is a good idea.

"Here are a few other possibilities for achieving the reunification of Germany as they have repeatedly appeared in the newspapers. Would you tell me in each case whether you approve or not?

A - A reunited Germany will stand alone, remain unarmed and neutral and the East as well as the West will guarantee Germany's security.

B - A reunited Germany may maintain military forces, but will become, together with other European countries, a part of a neutral belt in Europe.

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	A	B	A	B
Approve	40%	41%	35%	58%
Don't approve	37	28	59	31
No opinion	23	31	6	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%





NEITHER NEUTRAL BELT CONCEPT OR UNARMED, NEUTRAL GERMANY CONSIDERED  
LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE...

Despite the greater approval of the neutral belt concept, neither that possible solution nor the idea of an unarmed, neutral Germany is considered likely to emerge from the coming Four-Power Conference, as majorities in West Germany and in West Berlin feel that such solutions are not likely to be agreed upon by the Russians and the Western Powers.

"Do you consider it likely or unlikely that the Western Powers and Russia will agree on a solution like Point A (neutral unarmed Germany) on a Four Power conference?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Likely	22%	31%
Unlikely	50	58
No opinion	28	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And how about Point B (Germany to be part of a neutral belt)? Do you consider it likely or unlikely that the Western Powers and Russia will agree on a solution like Point B

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Likely	18%	32%
Unlikely	51	56
No opinion	31	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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## PART I - THE IMPACT OF SOVEREIGNTY

## Section A - Awareness

"Have you heard or read that West Germany has recently gained its sovereignty, that is, its national independence?"

	Yes, have heard	No haven't heard	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	77%	23%...100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	91	9	303
Women	64	36	323
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	72	28	512
Beyond elementary	97	3	114
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	63	37	76
150 to 299 DM	68	32	161
300 to 399 DM	77	23	147
400 to 499 DM	87	13	94
500 DM and more	90	10	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:©</u>			
Very active	95	5	44
Somewhat active	85	15	188
Remainder	71	29	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper classes	94	6	17
Middle classes	84	16	309
Lower classes	69	31	300
<u>Age:</u>			
18 to 24 years	72	28	67
25 to 34 years	80	20	122
35 to 44 years	80	20	130
45 to 54 years	77	23	146
55 years and over	75	25	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	81	19	134
CDU/CSU	80	20	162
FDP	85	15	26
Other parties	81	19	52
No party	77	23	136
No party preference stated	66	34	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>			
Professionals	100	-	15
Businessmen	83	17	42
White-collar workers	94	6	80
Skilled laborers	87	13	90
Semi-skilled laborers	69	31	62
Farmers	78	22	46
Housewives	64	36	190
Pensioners; retired	79	21	66
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	74	26	270
Protestants	78	22	323
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	76	24	496
Expellees; refugees	81	19	130
<u>City Size:</u>			
Up to 1,999	68	32	170
2,000 to 24,999	74	26	208
25,000 to 99,999	83	17	54
100,000 and over	87	13	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Yes, have heard</u>	<u>No haven't heard</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,			
Bremen	84%	16%	37
Lower Saxony	83	17	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	76	24	156
Hesse	75	25	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	69	31	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	84	16	19
Bavaria	75	25	130

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"Do you personally welcome West Germany's gaining sovereignty?"

	Welcome it en- thusiasti- cally	Welcome it very much	Welcome it some- what	Welcome it little/ Don't wel- come it at all	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	29%	41%	8%	5%	17%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	36	41	9	7	7	303
Women	22	41	7	4	26	323
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	24	42	8	6	20	512
Beyond elementary	48	38	8	3	3	114
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	20	39	7	3	31	76
150 to 299 DM	23	37	7	7	26	161
300 to 399 DM	22	52	11	5	10	147
400 to 499 DM	39	41	5	4	11	94
500 DM and more	40	38	9	5	8	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>						
Very active	41	38	14	2	5	44
Somewhat active	29	43	8	8	12	188
Remainder	28	41	7	4	20	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	53	29	6	12	-	17
Middle classes	38	40	7	3	12	309
Lower classes	18	44	9	7	22	300
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	24	46	11	4	15	67
25 to 34 years	27	48	8	5	12	122
35 to 44 years	34	37	11	6	12	130
45 to 54 years	30	34	8	7	21	146
55 years and over	28	43	5	4	20	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	28	43	9	9	11	134
CSU/CDU	36	43	4	3	14	162
FDP	31	46	8	4	11	26
Other parties	21	54	6	8	11	52
No party	32	27	14	6	21	136
No party preference stated	20	45	6	3	26	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	53	33	-	7	7	15
Businessmen	40	36	12	5	7	42
White-collar workers	38	51	4	5	2	80
Skilled laborers	35	36	14	7	8	90
Semi-skilled laborers	27	36	8	6	23	62
Farmers	17	48	9	-	26	46
Housewives	22	40	8	5	25	190
Pensioners; retired	27	44	3	3	23	66
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	26	41	8	6	19	270
Protestants	31	42	8	4	15	323
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	30	39	8	4	19	496
Expellees; refugees	26	49	7	8	10	130
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	19	42	12	6	21	170
2,000 to 24,999	30	38	5	6	21	208
25,000 to 99,999	24	43	9	7	17	54
100,000 and over	37	43	8	3	9	194

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Land:	Welcome it en- thusiasti- cally	Welcome it very much	Welcome it some- what	Welcome it little/ Don't wel- come it at all	No opinion	No. of cases
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	35%	43%	14%	3%	5%	37
Lower Saxony	37	41	3	5	14	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	26	46	6	4	18	156
Hesse	25	40	15	3	17	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	29	32	12	4	23	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	63	21	4	11	5	19
Bavaria	19	43	9	9	20	130

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"Do you believe West Germany has achieved complete independence, or is it your impression that the Western Powers have retained certain rights?"

	Complete independence	Certain rights reserved for Western Powers	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	13%	60%	27%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	13	74	13	303
Women	13	47	40	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	13	56	31	512
Beyond elementary	11	77	12	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	16	37	47	76
150 to 299 DM	12	52	36	161
300 to 399 DM	13	69	18	147
400 to 499 DM	14	62	24	94
500 DM and more	13	73	14	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	7	80	13	44
Somewhat active	8	78	14	188
Remainder	16	49	35	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	6	94	-	17
Middle classes	15	62	23	309
Lower classes	11	56	33	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	12	61	27	67
25 years to 34 years	11	65	24	122
35 years to 44 years	12	71	17	130
45 years to 54 years	12	58	30	146
55 years and over	16	48	36	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	10	71	19	134
CDU/CSU	16	57	27	162
FDP	12	69	19	26
Other parties	10	71	19	52
No party	10	64	26	136
No party preference stated	19	38	43	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	7	66	27	15
Businessmen	12	67	21	42
White-collar workers	11	78	11	80
Skilled laborers	9	78	13	90
Semi-skilled laborers	16	58	26	62
Farmers	13	46	41	46
Housewives	12	51	37	190
Pensioners; retired	26	45	29	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	13	56	31	270
Protestants	14	61	25	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	14	59	27	496
Expellees; refugees	9	62	29	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	9	58	33	170
2,000 to 24,999	18	48	34	208
25,000 to 99,999	11	67	22	54
100,000 and over	12	72	16	194

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	<u>Complete independence</u>	<u>Certain rights reserved for Western Powers</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein;				
Hamburg, Bremen	8%	78	14%..100%	37
Lower Saxony	13	56	31	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	15	61	24	156
Hesse	8	69	23	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	10	47	43	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	16	79	5	19
Bavaria	16	59	25	130

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## Section B - Present Orientation (Neutrality)

"At the present time, do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

	East	West	Neither side	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	1%	52%	33%	14%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	1	58	35	6	303
Women	*	48	31	21	323
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	1	50	34	15	512
Beyond elementary	-	64	26	10	114
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	1	46	30	23	76
150 to 299 DM	1	43	33	23	161
300 to 399 DM	1	59	34	6	147
400 to 499 DM	-	54	37	9	94
500 DM and more	-	62	30	8	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:©</u>					
Very active	2	55	34	9	44
Somewhat active	1	53	38	8	188
Remainder	*	52	31	17	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	-	59	41	-	17
Middle classes	*	60	27	13	309
Lower classes	1	45	39	15	300
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	-	52	37	11	67
25 to 34 years	-	58	33	9	122
35 to 44 years	-	54	39	7	130
45 to 54 years	1	45	33	21	146
55 years and over	1	53	27	19	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	-	46	49	5	134
CDU/CSU	1	67	18	14	162
FDP	-	65	31	4	26
Other parties	2	57	33	8	52
No party	1	41	43	15	136
No party preference stated	1	47	24	28	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	-	60	20	20	15
Businessmen	2	59	29	10	42
White-collar workers	-	56	38	6	80
Skilled laborers	-	51	42	7	90
Semi-skilled laborers	3	53	39	5	62
Farmers	-	65	26	9	46
Housewives	-	46	32	22	190
Pensioners; retired	2	54	24	20	66
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	*	53	30	17	270
Protestants	1	53	34	12	323
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	1	51	34	14	496
Expellees; refugees	1	56	31	12	130
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	1	49	32	18	170
2,000 to 24,999	1	51	31	17	208
25,000 to 99,999	-	55	30	15	54
100,000 and over	-	56	37	7	194

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\* Less than one half of one per cent

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	<u>East</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>Neither</u> <u>side</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hanburg, Bremen	3%	67%	30%	-	37
Lower Saxony	-	56	25	19	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	-	51	34	15	156
Hesse	-	51	43	6	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	2	54	27	17	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	-	53	42	5	19
Bavaria	1	46	38	15	130





"And if it should come to a war between the Soviet Union and the United States, do you think West Germany should take a side or not take a side?"  
(Which side?)

	Side with Russia	Side with U.S.	Not take side	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	*	35%	52%	13%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	1	37	55	7	303
Women	-	33	48	19	323
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	*	34	52	14	512
Beyond elementary	1	39	47	13	114
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	-	33	50	17	76
150 to 299 DM	-	28	55	17	161
300 to 399 DM	2	38	54	6	147
400 to 499 DM	-	40	49	11	94
500 DM and more	-	40	47	13	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	7	41	45	7	44
Somewhat active	-	33	57	10	188
Remainder	-	35	49	16	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	-	35	47	18	17
Middle classes	*	41	47	12	309
Lower classes	1	29	55	15	300
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	-	34	57	9	67
25 to 34 years	2	33	57	8	122
35 to 44 years	-	42	49	9	130
45 to 54 years	-	30	50	20	146
55 years and over	-	35	49	16	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	1	31	62	6	134
CDU/CSU	-	50	37	13	162
FDP	4	35	53	8	26
Other parties	2	38	50	10	52
No party	-	28	59	13	136
No party preference stated	-	25	49	26	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	1	33	40	27	15
Businessmen	-	43	43	14	42
White-collar workers	1	39	50	10	80
Skilled laborers	1	29	63	7	90
Semi-skilled laborers	2	37	53	8	62
Farmers	-	33	52	15	46
Housewives	-	31	52	17	190
Pensioners; retired	-	44	41	15	66
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	*	33	52	15	270
Protestants	1	36	50	13	323
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	*	35	51	14	496
Expellees; refugees	1	36	52	11	130
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	1	32	53	14	170
2,000 to 24,999	-	40	45	15	208
25,000 to 99,999	-	26	59	15	54
100,000 and over	1	34	54	11	194

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	<u>Side</u> <u>with Russia</u>	<u>Side</u> <u>with U.S.</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>take side</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	-	51%	41%	8%	37
Lower Saxony	-	38	44	18	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	-	32	56	12	156
Hesse	-	28	64	8	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	1	45	39	15	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	-	21	74	5	19
Bavaria	2	29	54	15	130





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"Should West Germany now that it is a sovereign and independent state assume a different attitude towards the Western Powers than before, or shouldn't it?"

	Yes, different attitude	No, no different attitude	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	17%	57%	26%...100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	23	67	10	303
Women	11	49	40	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	15	55	30	512
Beyond elementary	26	68	6	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	12	45	43	76
150 to 299 DM	11	52	37	161
300 to 399 DM	19	65	16	147
400 to 499 DM	23	57	20	94
500 DM and more	20	66	14	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	21	68	11	44
Somewhat active	28	58	14	188
Remainder	11	56	33	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	23	71	6	17
Middle classes	18	61	21	308
Lower classes	15	53	32	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	18	52	30	67
25 to 34 years	14	60	26	122
35 to 44 years	23	62	15	130
45 to 54 years	17	56	27	146
55 years and over	14	55	31	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	21	63	16	134
CDU/CSU	12	70	18	162
FDP	23	62	15	26
Other parties	27	52	21	52
No party	22	50	28	136
No party preference stated	8	45	47	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	20	67	13	15
Businessmen	17	71	12	42
White-collar workers	19	72	9	80
Skilled laborers	31	56	13	90
Semi-skilled laborers	15	61	24	62
Farmers	9	63	28	46
Housewives	13	47	40	190
Pensioners; retired	11	57	32	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	13	60	27	270
Protestants	19	56	25	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	17	55	28	496
Expellees; refugees	18	65	17	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	16	54	30	170
2,000 to 24,999	11	56	33	208
25,000 to 99,999	19	59	22	54
100,000 and over	24	61	15	194

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Yes, No, no  
different different No  
attitude attitude opinion No. of cases

Land:

Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	30%	59%	11%	37
Lower Saxony	17	53	30	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	18	61	21	156
Hesse	17	62	21	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	10	54	36	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	37	50	15	19
Bavaria	14	57	29	130

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"Should West Germany now that it is a sovereign and independent state assume a different attitude towards Russia than before, or shouldn't it?"

	Yes, different attitude	No, no different attitude	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	34%	38%	28%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	44	43	13	303
Women	24	33	43	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	30	38	32	512
Beyond elementary	49	39	12	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	17	32	51	76
150 to 299 DM	24	40	36	161
300 to 399 DM	42	38	20	147
400 to 499 DM	41	37	22	94
500 DM and more	44	40	16	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	36	50	14	44
Somewhat active	48	32	20	188
Remainder	27	39	34	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	65	35	-	17
Middle classes	35	41	24	309
Lower classes	31	35	34	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	33	36	31	67
25 to 34 years	33	40	27	122
35 to 44 years	46	37	17	130
45 to 54 years	33	34	33	146
55 years and over	26	41	33	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	43	40	17	134
CDU/CSU	24	54	22	162
FDP	62	23	15	26
Other parties	44	33	23	52
No party	37	32	31	136
No party preference stated	22	26	52	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	33	40	27	15
Businessmen	47	36	17	42
White-collar workers	51	35	14	80
Skilled laborers	43	44	13	90
Semi-skilled laborers	37	27	36	62
Farmers	26	48	26	46
Housewives	26	35	39	190
Pensioners; retired	17	45	38	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	28	42	30	270
Protestants	37	36	27	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	33	39	28	496
Expellees; refugees	38	34	28	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	30	39	31	170
2,000 to 24,999	27	39	34	208
25,000 to 99,999	44	28	28	54
100,000 and over	42	38	20	194

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	<u>Yes, different</u> <u>attitude</u>	<u>No, no different</u> <u>attitude</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	49%	32%	19%	37
Lower Saxony	36	28	36	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	36	40	24	156
Hesse	41	34	25	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	24	42	34	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	21	68	11	19
Bavaria	29	42	29	130

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"Can you perhaps tell me whether at the present time diplomatic relations exist between the West German Federal Government and Russia?"

	Yes, they do	No, they do not	Don't know	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	6%	42%	52%...100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	7	58	35	303
Women	5	27	68	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	5	37	58	512
Beyond elementary	7	67	26	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	5	24	71	76
150 to 299 DM	4	33	63	161
300 to 399 DM	6	48	46	147
400 to 499 DM	8	51	41	94
500 DM and more	5	53	42	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u>				
Very active	11	55	34	44
Somewhat active	7	49	44	188
Remainder	4	38	58	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	12	70	18	17
Middle classes	5	51	44	309
Lower classes	5	32	63	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	7	42	51	67
25 to 34 years	7	48	45	122
35 to 44 years	8	51	41	130
45 to 54 years	4	37	59	146
55 years and over	3	36	61	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	7	47	46	134
CDU/CSU	5	45	50	162
FDP	4	50	46	26
Other parties	8	36	56	52
No party	6	45	49	136
No party preference stated	4	30	66	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	-	80	20	15
Businessmen	7	43	50	42
White-collar workers	7	63	30	80
Skilled laborers	9	57	34	90
Semi-skilled laborers	5	35	60	62
Farmers	2	39	59	46
Housewives	5	29	66	190
Pensioners; retired	5	39	56	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	3	39	58	270
Protestants	7	44	49	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	6	42	52	496
Expellees; refugees	5	41	54	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	8	32	60	170
2,000 to 24,999	4	35	61	208
25,000 to 99,999	-	61	39	54
100,000 and over	7	54	39	194

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	<u>Yes,</u> <u>they do</u>	<u>No,</u> <u>they do not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg	13%	33%	54%	37
Bremen				
Lower Saxony	4	49	47	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	6	47	47	156
Hesse	8	34	58	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	=	40	52	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	11	42	47	19
Bavaria	6	33	61	130





"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

	<u>For it</u>	<u>Against it</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	79%	9%	12%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	89	9	2	303
Women	70	9	21	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	76	10	14	512
Beyond elementary	93	4	3	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	71	9	20	76
150 to 299 DM	70	7	23	161
300 to 399 DM	81	12	7	147
400 to 499 DM	83	12	5	94
500 DM and more	90	7	3	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale: @</u>				
Very active	86	9	5	44
Somewhat active	88	7	5	188
Remainder	74	10	16	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	94	6	-	17
Middle classes	83	8	9	309
Lower classes	73	11	16	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	79	9	12	67
25 to 34 years	79	11	10	122
35 to 44 years	80	11	9	130
45 to 54 years	81	8	11	146
55 years and over	77	7	16	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	81	13	6	134
CDU/CSU	76	14	10	162
FDP	96	-	4	26
Other parties	81	11	8	52
No party	83	4	13	136
No party preference stated	70	6	24	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	100	-	-	15
Businessmen	83	12	5	42
White-collar workers	85	6	9	80
Skilled laborers	91	7	2	90
Semi-skilled laborers	74	16	10	62
Farmers	72	15	13	46
Housewives	72	9	19	190
Pensioners: retired	83	3	14	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	75	10	15	270
Protestants	81	9	10	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	78	9	13	496
Expellees: refugees	82	9	9	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	71	13	16	170
2,000 to 24,999	71	10	19	203
25,000 to 99,999	87	9	4	54
100,000 and over	92	5	3	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>For it</u>	<u>Against it</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg				
Bremen	86%	11%	3%	37
Lower Saxony	78	8	14	133
North/Rhine	80	10	10	156
Hesse	89	6	5	65
WuerttembergBaden	69	10	21	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	95	5	2	19
Bavaria	77	10	13	130

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"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?" IF "FOR IT":

"Would you be for diplomatic relations with Russia even if that would mean that West Germany would in the end have to recognize the present East Zone government, or would you under these circumstances be against it?"

	Even then for it	Then against it	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	19%	47%	13%	21% ...100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men.	21	60	8	11	303
Women	16	37	17	30	323
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	17	44	15	24	124
Beyond elementary	26	62	5	7	114
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	9	38	24	29	76
150 to 299 DM	13	43	14	30	161
300 to 399 DM	21	53	7	19	147
400 to 499 DM	26	46	11	17	94
500 DM and more	26	52	12	10	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	21	54	11	14	44
Somewhat active	24	54	10	12	188
Remainder	16	44	14	26	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	47	47	-	6	17
Middle classes	19	52	12	17	309
Lower classes	17	42	14	27	300
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	15	54	10	21	67
25 to 34 years	15	52	12	21	122
35 to 44 years	28	40	12	20	130
45 to 54 years	14	50	17	19	146
55 years and over	20	45	12	23	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	19	51	11	19	134
CDU/CSU	12	53	11	24	162
FDP	38	54	4	4	26
Other parties	25	44	12	19	52
No party	26	45	12	17	136
No party preference stated	12	37	21	30	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	20	53	27	-	15
Businessmen	21	52	10	17	42
White-collar workers	20	60	5	15	80
Skilled laborers	28	52	11	9	90
Semi-skilled laborers	13	51	10	26	62
Farmers	11	41	20	28	46
Housewives	20	37	15	28	190
Pensioners; retired	15	54	14	17	66
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	19	43	13	25	270
Protestants	17	52	12	19	323
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	19	45	14	22	496
Expellees: refugees	16	56	10	18	130
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	17	40	14	29	170
2,000 to 24,999	21	39	11	29	208
25,000 to 99,999	6	72	9	13	54
100,000 and over	22	56	14	8	194

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	<u>Even then</u> <u>for it</u>	<u>Then</u> <u>against it</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>asked</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg					
Bremen	30%	56%	-	14%	37
Lower Saxony	10	54	14	22	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	23	48	9	20	156
Hesse	20	54	15	11	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	9	41	19	31	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	16	53	26	5	19
Bavaria	25	39	10	23	130

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"Are you for or against West Germany setting  
up military forces now?"

	<u>Very much/ Somewhat for it</u>	<u>Somewhat/ Very much against it</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	50%	34%	16%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	55	34	11	303
Women	47	33	20	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	47	36	17	512
Beyond elementary	67	24	9	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	51	20	29	76
150 to 299 DM	43	40	17	161
300 to 399 DM	55	35	10	147
400 to 499 DM	49	37	14	94
500 DM and more	57	31	12	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	59	27	14	44
Somewhat active	54	33	13	188
Remainder	49	34	17	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	47	41	12	17
Middle classes	57	30	13	309
Lower classes	44	37	19	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	42	48	10	67
25 to 34 years	48	39	13	122
35 to 44 years	57	30	13	130
45 to 54 years	52	35	13	146
55 years and over	50	26	24	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	36	54	10	134
CDU/CSU	73	16	11	162
FDP	50	38	12	26
Other parties	69	25	6	52
No party	48	36	16	136
No party preference stated	34	33	33	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	60	13	27	15
Businessmen	62	28	10	42
White-collar workers	64	32	4	80
Skilled laborers	48	40	12	90
Semi-skilled laborers	43	42	15	62
Farmers	54	24	22	46
Housewives	46	36	18	190
Pensioners; retired	46	30	24	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	52	30	18	270
Protestants	51	35	14	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	49	34	17	496
Expellees: refugees	56	32	12	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	45	38	17	170
2,000 to 24,999	50	29	21	208
25,000 to 99,999	50	31	19	54
100,000 and over	58	34	8	194

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	<u>Very much/ Somewhat for it</u>	<u>Somewhat/ Very much against it</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg				
Bremen	65%	32%	3%	37
Lower Saxony	58	22	20	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	50	37	13	156
Hesse	35	56	9	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	49	22	29	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	48	47	5	19
Bavaria	50	36	14	130

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"Do you believe that in case of an attack from  
the East, Western Europe can be defended successfully  
without German military forces, or don't you think so?"

	Can be done	Cannot be done	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	13%	56%	31%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	15	69	16	303
Women	12	44	44	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	12	53	35	512
Beyond elementary	18	68	14	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	8	42	50	76
150 to 299 DM	16	46	38	161
300 to 399 DM	10	67	23	147
400 to 499 DM	18	53	29	94
500 DM and more	13	69	18	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	11	71	18	44
Somewhat active	15	65	20	188
Remainder	12	50	38	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	12	82	6	17
Middle classes	17	57	26	309
Lower classes	9	54	37	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	21	51	28	67
25 to 34 years	14	56	30	122
35 to 44 years	13	64	23	130
45 to 54 years	14	56	30	146
55 years and over	8	52	40	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	16	62	22	134
CDU/CSU	10	65	25	162
FDP	23	50	27	26
Other parties	10	63	27	52
No party	12	55	33	136
No party preference stated	14	37	49	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	7	66	27	15
Businessmen	12	71	17	42
White-collar workers	16	68	16	80
Skilled laborers	17	60	23	90
Semi-skilled laborers	16	60	24	62
Farmers	11	63	26	46
Housewives	12	45	43	190
Pensioners; retired	9	53	38	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	13	55	32	270
Protestants	12	58	30	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	12	56	32	496
Expellees; refugees	16	59	25	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	12	56	32	170
2,000 to 24,999	9	51	40	208
25,000 to 99,999	7	63	30	54
100,000 and over	20	60	20	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Can</u> <u>be done</u>	<u>Cannot</u> <u>be done</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	16%	68%	16%	37
Lower Saxony	10	55	35	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	17	60	23	156
Hesse	15	51	34	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	8	52	40	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	16	74	10	19
Bavaria	12	52	36	130

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"In your opinion, have the chances for reunification improved or worsened through our having obtained sovereignty?"

	Improved	Worsened	Remained unchanged	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	30%	9%	39%	22%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	35	13	41	11	303
Women	26	6	37	31	323
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	26	10	40	24	512
Beyond elementary	51	5	36	8	114
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	18	5	45	32	76
150 to 299 DM	28	6	39	27	161
300 to 399 DM	31	15	37	17	147
400 to 499 DM	26	8	45	21	94
500 DM and more	46	9	34	11	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	41	18	27	14	44
Somewhat active	34	11	40	15	188
Remainder	27	8	40	25	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	35	-	59	6	17
Middle classes	36	9	36	19	309
Lower classes	24	10	41	25	300
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	34	9	39	18	67
25 to 34 years	29	13	41	17	122
35 to 44 years	33	8	41	18	130
45 to 54 years	35	8	34	23	146
55 years and over	24	9	39	28	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	25	18	43	14	134
CDU/CSU	41	7	33	19	162
FDP	42	11	35	12	26
Other parties	35	4	42	19	52
No party	22	11	47	20	136
No party preference stated	27	3	32	38	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	20	-	67	13	15
Businessmen	33	10	38	19	42
White-collar workers	47	6	36	11	80
Skilled laborers	28	18	42	12	90
Semi-skilled laborers	35	8	34	23	62
Farmers	24	7	41	28	46
Housewives	27	8	36	29	190
Pensioners; retired	24	11	45	20	66
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	30	9	35	26	270
Protestants	31	9	42	18	323
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	29	10	38	23	496
Expellees; refugees	37	8	40	15	130
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	29	9	39	23	170
2,000 to 24,999	27	5	41	27	208
25,000 to 99,999	33	15	30	22	54
100,000 and over	35	12	40	13	194

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- 75 -  
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- 75 -  
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- 75 -  
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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Improved</u>	<u>Worsened</u>	<u>Remained unchanged</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,					
Bremen	44%	5%	35%	16%	37
Lower Saxony	41	7	34	18	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	28	12	39	21	156
Hesse	31	8	41	20	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	22	10	33	35	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	26	21	53	7	19
Bavaria	24	8	46	22	130

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## Section A - Awareness

"Have you heard or read that Austrian Chancellor Raab  
has visited Moscow recently?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	70%	30%...100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	88	12	303
Women	53	47	323
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	65	35	512
Beyond elementary	94	6	114
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	53	47	76
150 to 299 DM	55	45	161
300 to 399 DM	76	24	147
400 to 499 DM	83	17	94
500 DM and more	85	15	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>			
Very active	91	9	44
Somewhat active	82	18	188
Remainder	62	38	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper classes	94	6	17
Middle classes	76	24	309
Lower classes	63	37	300
<u>Age:</u>			
18 to 24 years	67	33	67
25 to 34 years	76	24	122
35 to 44 years	76	24	130
45 to 54 years	66	34	146
55 years and over	65	35	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	79	21	134
CDU/CSU	70	30	162
FDP	73	27	26
Other parties	79	21	52
No party	68	32	136
No party preference stated	57	43	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>			
Professionals	80	20	15
Businessmen	81	19	42
White-collar workers	90	10	80
Skilled laborers	83	17	90
Semi-skilled laborers	63	37	62
Farmers	76	24	46
Housewives	53	47	190
Pensioners; retired	67	33	66
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	65	35	270
Protestants	73	27	323
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	68	32	496
Expellees; refugees	76	24	130
<u>City Size:</u>			
Up to 1,999	66	34	170
2,000 to 24,999	62	38	208
25,000 to 99,999	74	26	54
100,000 and over	81	19	194

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	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>			
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	73%	27%	37
Lower Saxony	74	26	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	71	29	156
Hesse	68	32	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	69	31	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	69	32	19
Bavaria	65	35	130

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1891



"And can you perhaps tell me whether the Austrian  
state treaty, or peace treaty, was signed?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No, dom't know</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	66%	34% ...100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	83	17	303
Women	51	49	323
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	61	39	512
Beyond elementary	91	9	114
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	47	53	76
150 to 299 DM	52	48	161
300 to 399 DM	68	32	147
400 to 499 DM	83	17	94
500 DM and more	80	20	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale: @</u>			
Very active	91	9	44
Somewhat active	74	26	188
Remainder	59	41	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper classes	88	12	17
Middle classes	76	24	309
Lower classes	54	46	300
<u>Age:</u>			
18 to 24 years	67	33	67
25 to 34 years	71	29	122
35 to 44 years	70	30	130
45 to 54 years	65	35	146
55 years and over	60	40	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	71	29	134
CDU/CSU	68	32	162
FDP	73	27	26
Other parties	64	36	52
No party	70	30	136
No party preference stated	54	46	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent)</u>			
Professionals	73	27	15
Businessmen	74	26	42
White-collar workers	88	12	80
Skilled laborers	80	20	90
Semi-skilled laborers	60	40	62
Farmers	61	39	46
Housewives	53	47	190
Pensioners: retired	62	38	66
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	59	41	270
Protestants	72	28	323
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	66	34	496
Expellees: refugees	67	33	130
<u>City Size:</u>			
Up to 1,999	58	43	170
2,000 to 24,999	60	40	208
25,000 to 99,999	72	28	54
100,000 and over	78	22	194

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	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No, don't know</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>			
Schleswig/Holstein: Hamburg:			
Bremen	70%	30%	37
Lower Saxony	69	31	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	69	31	156
Hesse	65	35	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	72	28	66
Rhineland/Palatinate	79	21	89
Bavaria	53	47	130





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"Do you feel that the present Russian attitude on the Austrian question is to be regarded as a success of the policy of the Western Powers, or don't you think so?"

	Success of the Western Powers	No Success of the Western Powers	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	23%	26%	51%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	30	35	35	303
Women	16	18	66	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	20	24	56	512
Beyond elementary	35	38	27	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	8	17	75	76
150 to 299 DM	19	19	62	161
300 to 399 DM	27	31	42	147
400 to 499 DM	30	23	47	94
500 DM and more	31	36	33	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	39	36	25	44
Somewhat active	28	30	42	188
Remainder	19	23	58	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	47	29	24	17
Middle classes	28	28	44	309
Lower classes	16	25	59	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	18	43	39	67
25 to 34 years	21	31	48	122
35 to 44 years	32	24	44	130
45 to 54 years	17	26	57	146
55 years and over	24	18	58	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	26	33	41	134
CDU/CSU	28	25	47	162
FDP	38	35	27	26
Other parties	27	31	42	52
No party	18	30	52	136
No party preference stated	13	13	74	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	27	20	53	15
Businessmen	21	38	41	42
White-collar workers	35	30	35	80
Skilled laborers	30	33	37	90
Semi-skilled laborers	22	34	44	62
Farmers	24	11	65	46
Housewives	17	22	61	190
Pensioners; retired	17	17	66	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	21	25	54	270
Protestants	24	26	50	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	22	25	53	496
Expellees; refugees	25	32	43	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	21	24	55	170
2,000 to 24,999	22	22	56	208
25,000 to 99,999	37	22	41	54
100,000 and over	22	34	44	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Success of</u> <u>the Western</u> <u>Powers</u>	<u>No Success of</u> <u>the Western</u> <u>Powers</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg				
Bremen	24%	38%	38%	37
Lower Saxony	24	23	53	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	28	29	43	156
Hesse	25	21	54	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	20	20	60	88
Rhineland/Palatinate	21	26	53	19
Bayaria	17	30	53	130

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Section B - Appeal of the Austrian Solution

"Supposing Chancellor Dr. Adenauer would be invited by the Russians to come to Moscow to discuss the reunification of Germany independently. In your opinion, should he accept such an invitation or should he not?"

	<u>Accept</u>	<u>Not accept</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	77%	7%	16%...100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	85	8	7	303
Women	70	6	24	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	75	7	18	512
Beyond elementary	87	7	6	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	70	1	29	76
150 to 299 DM	71	6	23	161
300 to 399 DM	83	8	9	147
400 to 499 DM	82	8	10	94
500 DM and more	81	11	8	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	91	2	7	44
Somewhat active	85	7	8	188
Remainder	71	8	21	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	82	18	-	17
Middle classes	80	8	12	309
Lower classes	73	5	22	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	79	9	12	67
25 to 34 years	79	9	12	122
35 to 44 years	82	6	12	130
45 to 54 years	76	8	16	146
55 years and over	71	6	23	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SFD	86	8	6	134
CDU/CSU	76	10	14	162
FDP	96	-	4	26
Other parties	82	10	8	52
No party	80	3	17	136
No party preference stated	58	7	35	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent)</u>				
Professionals	86	7	7	15
Businessmen	79	7	14	42
White-Collar workers	86	6	8	80
Skilled laborers	84	7	9	90
Semi-skilled laborers	79	5	16	62
Farmers	74	6	20	46
Housewives	72	7	21	190
Pensioners, retired	74	6	20	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	74	8	18	270
Protestants	79	7	14	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	77	6	17	496
Expellees; refugees	78	10	12	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	73	8	19	170
2,000 to 24,999	71	9	20	208
25,000 to 99,999	74	9	17	54
100,000 and over	87	5	8	194

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	<u>Accept</u>	<u>Not accept</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	92 %	5%	3%	37
Lower Saxony	74	6	20	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	80	8	12	156
Hesse	91	1	8	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	66	7	27	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	69	26	5	19
Bavaria	73	8	19	130

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"Do you believe that a solution similar to that for Austria would be possible for Germany, or don't you think so?"

	Possible for Germany	Not possible for Germany	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	41%	27%	32%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	49	35	16	303
Women	34	19	47	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	42	22	36	512
Beyond elementary	38	45	17	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	29	18	53	76
150 to 299 DM	39	21	40	161
300 to 399 DM	45	26	29	147
400 to 499 DM	46	30	24	94
500 DM and more	43	39	18	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	45	39	16	44
Somewhat active	52	29	19	188
Remainder	36	24	40	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	53	41	6	17
Middle classes	38	35	27	309
Lower classes	44	17	39	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	34	33	33	67
25 to 34 years	38	28	34	122
35 to 44 years	50	26	24	130
45 to 54 years	43	27	30	146
55 years and over	36	24	40	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	54	23	23	134
CDU/CSU	40	33	27	162
FDP	35	46	19	26
Other parties	40	33	27	52
No party	41	25	34	136
No party preference stated	32	16	52	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	33	20	47	15
Businessmen	47	29	24	42
White-collar workers	46	34	20	80
Skilled laborers	49	36	15	90
Semi-skilled laborers	42	23	35	62
Farmers	39	33	28	46
Housewives	39	19	42	190
Pensioners; retired	33	24	43	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	39	28	33	270
Protestants	43	26	31	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	41	25	34	496
Expellees: refugees	41	33	26	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	46	25	29	170
2,000 to 24,999	36	25	39	208
25,000 to 99,999	33	39	28	54
100,000 and over	45	27	28	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Possible for Germany</u>	<u>Not possible for Germany</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein.Hamburg				
Bremen	62%	16%	22%	37
Lower Saxony	37	25	38	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	45	27	28	156
Hesse	44	25	31	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	29	33	38	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	47	32	21	19
Bavaria	40	28	32	130

1874. P. 121

1874. P. 121



# PART III - THE COMING FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE

## Section A - Awareness

"Have you perhaps heard or read that it is planned to arrange a Four Power Conference at which the future of Germany and reunification are, among other things, to be discussed?"

	Yes, have heard 70%	No, haven't heard 30%...100%	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>			626
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	86	14	303
Women	55	45	323
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	66	34	512
Beyond elementary	87	13	144
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	51	49	76
150 to 299 DM	59	41	161
300 to 399 DM	76	24	147
400 to 499 DM	81	19	94
500 DM and more	82	18	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale: @</u>			
Very active	84	16	44
Somewhat active	82	18	188
Remainder	63	37	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper classes	88	12	17
Middle classes	80	20	309
Lower classes	59	41	300
<u>Age:</u>			
18 to 24 years	66	34	67
25 to 34 years	73	27	122
35 to 44 years	78	22	130
45 to 54 years	71	29	146
55 years and over	63	37	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	78	22	134
CDU/CSU	73	27	162
FDP	81	19	26
Other Parties	69	31	52
No party	73	27	136
No party preference stated	51	49	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent)</u>			
Professionals	87	13	15
Businessmen	79	21	42
White-collar worker	88	12	80
Skilled laborers	84	16	90
Semi-skilled laborers	69	31	62
Farmers	65	35	46
Housewives	56	44	190
Pensioners: retired	65	35	66
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	65	35	270
Protestants	73	27	323
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	69	31	496
Expellees: refugees	74	26	130
<u>City Size:</u>			
Up to 1,999	62	38	170
2,000 to 24,999	66	34	208
25,000 to 99,999	78	22	54
100,000 and over	80	20	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Yes, have heard</u>	<u>No, haven't heard</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,			
Bremen	76%	24%	37
Lower Saxony	81	19	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	72	28	156
Hesse	74	26	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	6	34	6
Rhineland/Palatinate	6	32	49
Bavaria	55	45	130





## Section B - Expectations

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"Are you of the opinion that the chances to achieve something through negotiations with the Russians have increased or decreased lately?"

	Increased	Decreased	Are the same	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	48%	7%	25%	20%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	59	9	24	8	303
Women	36	5	27	32	323
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	43	7	26	24	512
Beyond elementary	67	7	22	4	114
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	28	4	34	34	76
150 to 299 DM	38	9	24	29	161
300 to 399 DM	52	7	28	13	147
400 to 499 DM	55	4	27	14	94
500 DM and more	67	7	16	10	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	66	16	16	2	44
Somewhat active	62	6	24	8	188
Remainder	39	6	27	28	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	88	-	6	6	17
Middle classes	54	6	25	15	309
Lower classes	40	8	26	26	300
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	46	6	22	26	67
25 to 34 years	46	11	24	19	122
35 to 44 years	56	8	25	11	130
45 to 54 years	48	5	26	21	146
55 years and over	42	4	28	26	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	53	12	24	11	134
CDU/CSU	51	6	27	16	162
FDP	73	8	15	4	26
Other parties	58	2	29	11	52
No party	43	6	31	20	136
No party preference stated	32	4	19	45	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	73	7	13	7	15
Businessmen	67	9	14	10	42
White-collar workers	64	2	26	8	80
Skilled laborers	52	13	25	10	90
Semi-skilled laborers	45	10	23	22	62
Farmers	44	6	30	20	46
Housewives	36	5	25	34	190
Pensioners; retired	39	5	36	20	66
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	40	8	28	24	270
Protestants	53	6	22	19	323
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	46	8	25	21	496
Expellees; refugees	53	3	28	16	130
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	45	6	24	25	170
2,000 to 24,999	40	6	28	26	208
25,000 to 99,999	61	9	11	19	54
100,000 and over	55	7	27	11	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Increased</u>	<u>Decreased</u>	<u>Are</u> <u>the same</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein					
Hamburg, Bremen	70%	3%	14%	13%	37
Lower Saxony	50	5	28	17	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	48	6	26	20	156
Hesse	52	9	22	17	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	40	8	20	32	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	68	11	16	5	19
Bavaria	38	7	32	23	130

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"In your opinion, how good would the chances be at such a Four Power Conference for achieving a reunification under conditions acceptable to us?"

	Very good/ Good	Fair	Poor	Very poor	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	7%	31%	29%	14%	19%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	7	36	30	19	8	303
Women	7	27	27	9	30	323
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	7	30	29	12	22	512
Beyond elementary	7	36	31	20	6	114
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	5	21	21	13	40	76
150 to 299 DM	7	29	31	7	26	161
300 to 399 DM	6	35	31	14	14	147
400 to 499 DM	8	30	26	22	14	94
500 DM and more	9	37	33	13	8	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:*</u>						
Very active	13	32	32	16	7	44
Somewhat active	11	33	30	18	8	188
Remainder	5	30	28	11	26	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	6	59	17	18	-	17
Middle classes	5	29	34	17	15	309
Lower classes	9	31	25	10	25	300
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	6	28	31	12	23	67
25 to 34 years	7	30	35	14	14	122
34 to 44 years	9	35	29	12	15	130
45 to 54 years	5	34	27	16	18	146
55 years and over	7	28	25	13	27	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	12	35	32	14	7	134
CDU/CSU	6	34	28	13	19	162
FDP	8	38	27	19	8	26
Other Parties	8	23	39	15	15	52
No party	6	35	24	19	16	136
No party preference stated	4	22	28	4	42	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	-	54	13	20	13	15
Businessmen	5	31	36	19	9	42
White-collar workers	10	30	39	12	9	80
Skilled laborers	6	39	20	23	12	90
Semi-skilled laborers	8	30	34	5	23	62
Farmers	2	22	32	22	22	46
Housewives	7	29	29	8	27	190
Pensioners; retired	8	36	20	15	21	66
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	7	31	26	13	23	270
Protestants	6	31	32	14	17	323
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	7	31	28	14	20	496
Expellees; refugees	8	32	31	13	16	130
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	4	27	33	14	22	170
2,000 to 24,999	7	30	25	12	26	208
25,000 to 99,999	4	33	26	19	18	54
100,000 and over	10	36	31	13	10	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Very Good/ Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Very poor</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,						
Bremen	5%	49%	22%	19%	5%	37
Lower Saxony	5	29	33	13	20	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	8	29	30	18	15	156
Hesse	11	32	29	6	22	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	11	29	18	16	30	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	11	42	37	5	5	19
Bavaria	5	32	31	11	21	130

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"Do you believe West Germany could achieve more for a reunification through independent and direct negotiations with the East than through a Four Power conference, or don't you think so?"

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	<u>More</u>	<u>Not more</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>No. case</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	29%	32%	39%... 100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	35	43	22	303
Women	24	22	54	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	27	31	42	512
Beyond elementary	39	38	23	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	16	21	63	76
150 to 299 DM	27	24	49	161
350 to 399 DM	37	34	29	147
400 to 499 DM	30	39	31	94
500 DM and more	31	42	27	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale®</u>				
Very active	41	39	20	44
Somewhat active	34	40	26	188
Remainder	26	28	46	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	41	41	18	17
Middle classes	30	37	33	309
Lower classes	28	27	45	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	34	31	35	67
25 to 34 years	33	32	35	122
35 to 44 years	31	36	33	130
45 to 54 years	26	31	43	146
55 years and over	25	30	45	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	41	34	25	134
CDU/CSU	25	41	34	162
FDP	50	23	27	26
Other parties	29	44	27	52
No party	31	29	40	136
No party preference stated	16	17	67	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	27	46	27	15
Businessmen	36	40	24	42
White-collar workers	39	35	26	80
Skilled laborers	44	36	20	90
Semi-skilled laborers	21	40	39	62
Farmers	22	37	41	46
Housewives	24	25	51	190
Pensioners: retired	23	27	50	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	22	36	42	270
Protestants	34	29	37	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	28	32	40	496
Expellees, Refugees	33	32	35	130

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	<u>More</u>	<u>Not more</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	28%	32%	40%	170
2,000 to 24,999	24	29	47	208
25,000 to 99,999	41	35	24	54
100,000 and over	33	35	32	194

Land:

Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	46	41	13	37
Lower Saxony	22	35	43	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	30	32	38	156
Hesse	32	26	42	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	42	32	26	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	21	34	45	19
Bavaria	33	28	39	130





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"Who, do you think, will more earnestly advocate the reunification of Germany at a Four Power conference: Russia or the Western Powers?"

	Russia	Western Powers	Both will do equally much	Both will do equally little	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	5%	51%	13%	15%	16%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	7	51	17	16	9	303
Women	3	50	10	14	23	323
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	4	50	13	15	18	512
Beyond elementary	9	52	16	13	10	114
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	1	47	11	11	30	76
150 to 299 DM	2	51	11	17	19	161
300 to 399 DM	5	50	18	16	11	147
400 to 499 DM	5	54	13	15	13	94
500 DM and more	9	53	14	14	10	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>						
Very active	9	59	7	16	9	44
Somewhat active	6	51	15	15	13	188
Remainder	4	49	14	14	19	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	12	47	17	12	12	17
Middle classes	8	50	13	15	14	309
Lower classes	1	51	14	15	19	300
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	3	55	10	18	14	67
25 to 34 years	7	56	15	11	11	122
35 to 44 years	9	46	16	16	13	130
45 to 54 years	3	50	13	18	16	146
55 years and over	2	49	13	12	24	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	4	48	13	21	14	134
CDU/CSU	2	70	8	9	11	162
FDP	4	35	19	27	15	26
Other parties	10	50	15	13	12	52
No party	10	42	16	17	15	136
No party preference stated	3	41	16	9	31	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	7	40	20	13	20	15
Businessmen	10	50	21	7	12	42
White-collar workers	10	51	16	14	9	80
Skilled laborers	6	50	15	21	8	90
Seni-skilled laborers	3	55	20	16	6	62
Farmers	2	61	-	15	22	46
Housewives	4	49	10	13	24	190
Pensioners; retired	2	50	15	9	24	66
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	3	51	14	13	19	270
Protestants	6	53	11	15	15	323
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	5	50	13	14	18	496
Expellees: refugees	3	52	17	18	10	130
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	4	52	9	14	21	170
2,000 to 24,999	2	53	12	14	19	208
25,000 to 99,999	-	46	24	17	13	54
100,000 and over	10	48	17	15	10	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Both will</u>		<u>Both will</u>		<u>No</u>	<u>No. of</u>
	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Western Powers</u>	<u>do equally much</u>	<u>do equally little</u>	<u>opinion</u>	<u>cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein,						
Hamburg, Bremen	5%	68%	5%	14%	8%	37
Lower Saxony	4	56	11	11	18	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	7	47	15	17	14	156
Hesse	2	49	17	21	11	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	4	61	7	5	23	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	5	37	37	11	10	19
Bavaria	5	41	16	19	19	130

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"In your opinion, should the West German Federal Government wait before taking measures for executing the Paris Accords until after the Four Power Conference, or should it - independently of it - go right ahead with the execution of these treaties?"

	<u>Wait until after the</u> <u>Four Power Conference</u>	<u>Execute treaty</u> <u>immediately</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	34%	32%	34%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	41	43	16	303
Women	27	22	51	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	33	28	39	512
Beyond elementary	39	50	11	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	26	19	55	76
150 to 299 DM	33	23	44	161
300 to 399 DM	40	32	28	147
400 to 499 DM	35	39	26	94
500 DM and more	36	47	17	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	32	54	14	44
Somewhat active	41	35	24	188
Remainder	31	28	41	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	59	35	6	17
Middle classes	32	40	28	309
Lower classes	35	24	41	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	39	34	27	67
25 to 34 years	33	34	33	122
35 to 44 years	38	33	29	130
45 to 54 years	32	34	34	145
55 years and over	31	27	42	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	49	26	25	134
CDU/CSU	27	47	26	162
FDP	35	54	11	26
Other parties	34	33	33	52
No party	42	26	32	136
No party preference	18	19	63	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	40	40	20	15
Businessmen	33	48	19	42
White-collar workers	43	40	17	80
Skilled laborers	40	44	16	90
Semi-skilled laborers	37	29	34	62
Farmers	28	28	44	46
Housewives	29	24	47	190
Pensioners; retired	30	27	43	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	30	36	34	270
Protestants	36	29	35	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	33	32	35	496
Expellees: refugees	39	31	30	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up tp 1,999	34	29	37	170
2,000 to 24,999	27	31	42	208
25,000 to 99,999	30	39	31	54
100,000 and over	42	34	24	194

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	Wait until after the <u>Four Power Conference</u>	Execute treaty No <u>immediately</u>	No <u>opinion</u>	No. of <u>cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	38%	43%	19%	37
Lower Saxony	31	30	39	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	33	35	32	156
Hesse	35	36	29	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	37	22	41	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	37	42	21	19
Bavaria	34	31	35	130





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"The Federal Government set up the following conditions for a Four Power conference. In your opinion, on which of them should the Federal Government insist, and on which not?"

Also a reunited Germany must be a member of the community of free nations

	Should insist	Should not insist	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	74%	4%	22%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	83	6	11	303
Women	65	2	33	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementory school	71	4	25	512
Beyond elementary	87	5	8	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	62	1	37	76
150 to 299 DM	68	2	30	161
300 to 399 DM	79	6	15	147
400 to 499 DM	80	3	17	94
500 DM and more	83	3	14	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	79	7	14	44
Somewhat active	82	4	14	188
Remainder	69	4	27	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	82	12	6	17
Middle classes	78	4	18	308
Lower classes	70	3	27	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	79	3	18	67
25 to 34 years	80	3	17	122
35 to 44 years	79	3	18	130
45 to 54 years	75	6	19	146
55 years and over	62	4	34	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	77	7	16	134
CDU/CSU	78	3	19	162
FDP	88	4	8	26
Other parties	77	6	17	52
No party	76	2	22	136
No party preference stated	58	3	39	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	87	-	13	15
Businessmen	86	2	12	42
White-collar workers	89	2	9	80
Skilled laborers	85	6	9	90
Semi-skilled laborers	73	8	19	62
Farmers	63	4	33	46
Housewives	63	3	34	190
Pensioners; retired	67	6	27	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	73	4	23	270
Protestants	74	4	22	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	72	4	24	496
Expellees, Refugees	81	4	15	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 11,999	70	4	26	170
2,000 to 24,999	68	3	29	208
25,000 to 99,999	79	4	17	54
100,000 and over	82	5	13	194

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	<u>Should insist</u>	<u>Should not insist</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	86	3	11..100%	37
Lower Saxony	74	4	22	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	77	5	18	156
Hesse	82	-	18	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	64	1	35	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	100	-	-	19
Bavaria	64	8	28	130





"The Federal Government set up the following conditions for a Four Power conference. In your opinion, on which of them should the Federal Government insist, and on which not?"

Also a reunited Germany must be free to contract military alliances

	Should insist	Should not insist	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	60%	14%	26%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	72	15	13	303
Women	48	12	40	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	55	14	31	512
Beyond elementary	80	13	7	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	45	8	47	76
150 to 299 DM	48	17	35	161
300 to 399 DM	65	13	22	147
400 to 499 DM	71	12	17	94
500 DM and more	69	14	17	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale: @</u>				
Very active	68	14	18	44
Somewhat active	68	16	16	188
Remainder	54	13	33	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	76	24	-	17
Middle classes	69	10	21	308
Lower classes	49	17	34	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	57	19	24	67
25 to 34 years	64	11	25	122
35 to 44 years	62	16	22	130
45 to 54 years	61	16	23	146
55 years and over	52	11	37	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	59	19	22	134
CDU/CSU	71	8	21	162
FDP	77	12	11	26
Other parties	60	15	25	52
No party	59	18	23	136
No party preference stated	40	11	49	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	86	7	7	15
Businessmen	69	17	14	42
White-collar workers	74	11	15	80
Skilled laborers	72	16	12	90
Semi-skilled laborers	57	19	24	62
Farmers	46	13	41	46
Housewives	48	13	39	190
Pensioners; retired	61	9	30	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	56	15	29	270
Protestants	61	12	27	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	57	14	29	496
Expellees, Refugees	68	13	19	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	55	12	33	170
2,000 to 24,999	52	14	34	208
25,000 to 99,999	61	13	26	54
100,000 and over	71	15	14	194

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"The Federal Government set up the following conditions for a Four Power conference. In your opinion, on which of them should the Federal Government insist, and on which not?"

Also in a reunited Germany the military bases of the West, that is, of NATO, are to be maintained

	Should insist	Should not insist	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	32%	34%	34%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	37	43	20	303
Women	26	25	49	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	29	32	39	512
Beyond elementary	45	41	14	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	16	24	60	76
150 to 299 DM	29	32	39	161
300 to 399 DM	35	36	29	147
400 to 499 DM	34	37	29	94
500 DM and more	43	36	21	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale: ©</u>				
Very active	50	27	23	44
Somewhat active	32	46	22	188
Remainder	29	29	42	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	47	53	-	17
Middle classes	40	32	28	309
Lower classes	22	34	44	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	34	44	22	67
25 to 34 years	39	29	32	122
35 to 44 years	29	45	26	130
45 to 54 years	34	32	34	146
55 years and over	26	26	48	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	25	44	31	134
CDU/CSU	48	22	30	162
FDP	27	58	15	26
Other parties	33	40	27	52
No party	31	39	30	136
No party preference stated	17	24	59	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	73	20	7	15
Businessmen	40	43	17	42
White-collar workers	40	40	20	80
Skilled laborers	38	45	17	90
Semi-skilled laborers	29	39	32	62
Farmers	24	26	50	46
Housewives	26	26	48	190
Pensioners; retired	26	29	45	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	33	30	37	270
Protestants	31	35	34	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	32	33	35	496
Expellees, Refugees	32	36	32	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	29	31	40	170
2,000 to 24,999	30	32	38	208
25,000 to 99,999	33	35	32	54
100,000 and over	34	39	27	194

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	<u>Should insist</u>	<u>Should not insist</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	35%	46%	19%..100%	37
Lower Saxony	34	31	35	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	32	36	32	156
Hesse	32	43	25	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	29	20	51	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	53	26	21	19
Bavaria	25	37	38	130



Section D - Neutrality Proposals **UNCLASSIFIED**

"Suppose the Russians proposed that Germany be reunited with free elections, but could not enter alliances with either the West or the East: which would you prefer - this suggestion or present plans to incorporate West Germany into the Western defence system?"

	<u>Prefer Russian suggestion</u>	<u>Prefer present Western plans</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	36%	34%	30%...100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	45	38	17	303
Women	28	31	41	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	37	31	32	512
Beyond elementary	33	49	18	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	24	25	51	76
150 to 299 DM	39	24	37	161
300 to 399 DM	42	39	19	147
400 to 499 DM	33	44	23	94
500 DM and more	41	39	20	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	39	41	20	44
Somewhat active	45	34	21	188
Remainder	32	33	35	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	41	41	18	17
Middle classes	35	40	25	309
Lower classes	37	28	35	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	34	42	24	67
25 to 34 years	39	33	28	122
35 to 44 years	44	34	22	130
45 to 54 years	37	33	30	146
55 years and over	29	32	39	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	53	26	21	134
CDU/CSU	27	49	24	162
FDP	46	39	15	26
Other Parties	42	35	23	52
No party	35	33	32	136
No party preference stated	27	21	52	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	27	46	27	15
Businessmen	38	43	19	42
White-collar workers	47	34	19	80
Skilled laborers	49	34	17	90
Semi-skilled laborers	40	37	23	62
Farmers	26	37	37	46
Housewives	30	29	41	190
Pensioners; retired	27	37	36	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	35	36	29	270
Protestants	37	33	30	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	35	34	31	496
Expellees: refugees	41	35	24	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	33	33	34	170
2,000 to 24,999	34	33	33	208
25,000 to 99,999	39	30	31	54
100,000 and over	40	38	22	194

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	<u>Prefer Russian</u> <u>suggestion</u>	<u>Prefer present</u> <u>Western plans</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburge				
Bremen	35%	46%	19%	37
Lower Saxony	33	32	35	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	41	33	26	156
Hesse	40	34	26	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	24	37	39	80
Rhineland/Palatinate	21	42	37	19
Bavaria	43	31	26	130



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"Would you, in order to achieve a reunification, approve of an armed, but neutral all-Germany if the Western Powers and Russia would guarantee Germany's security, or would you disapprove of these conditions for a reunification?"

	Approve	Dis- approve	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	61%	13%	26%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	72	15	13	303
Women	52	11	37	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	60	11	29	512
Beyond elementary	68	19	13	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	35	12	53	76
150 to 299 DM	54	11	35	161
300 to 399 DM	72	12	16	147
400 to 499 DM	65	15	20	94
500 DM and more	73	13	14	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale: @</u>				
Very active	66	20	14	44
Somewhat active	20	63	17	188
Remainder	56	13	31	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	88	12	-	17
Middle classes	65	14	21	309
Lower classes	57	11	32	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	62	16	22	67
25 to 34 years	65	11	24	122
35 to 44 years	65	19	16	130
45 to 54 years	61	14	25	146
55 years and over	49	13	38	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	73	13	14	134
CDU/CSU	59	18	23	162
FDP	81	8	11	26
Other parties	62	11	27	52
No party	65	12	23	136
No party preference stated	45	6	49	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	73	20	7	15
Businessmen	64	19	17	42
White-collar workers	75	11	14	80
Skilled laborers	80	11	9	90
Semi-skilled laborers	58	15	27	62
Farmers	54	9	37	46
Housewives	54	11	35	190
Pensioners; retired	43	18	39	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	59	13	28	270
Protestants	62	12	26	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	60	13	27	496
Expellees, Refugees	68	10	22	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	60	11	29	170
2,000 to 24,999	54	13	33	208
25,000 to 99,999	59	13	28	54
100,000 and over	71	13	16	194

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	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	73%	16%	11%..100%	37
Lower Saxony	53	13	34	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	65	15	20	156
Hesse	71	6	23	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	44	15	41	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	74	16	10	19
Bavaria	69	9	22	130





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"Do you believe the Western Powers would give such a guarantee if a reunited Germany would be armed, but were pledged to remain neutral, or are you of the opinion that the Western Powers would not give a guarantee for Germany's security under these circumstances?"

	Would give a guarantee	Would not give a guarantee	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	31%	32%	37%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	37	40	23	303
Women	24	25	51	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	30	30	40	512
Beyond elementary	32	42	26	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	16	24	60	76
150 to 299 DM	32	24	44	161
300 to 399 DM	38	34	28	147
400 to 499 DM	32	38	30	94
500 DM and more	31	42	27	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale: @</u>				
Very active	48	29	23	44
Somewhat active	33	46	21	188
Remainder	28	25	47	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	47	29	24	17
Middle classes	29	37	34	309
Lower classes	32	27	41	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	19	42	39	67
25 to 34 years	36	30	34	122
35 to 44 years	35	36	29	130
45 to 54 years	29	32	39	146
55 years and more	29	26	45	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	41	37	22	134
CDU/CSU	33	31	36	162
FPD	31	35	34	26
Other parties	27	33	40	52
No party	31	35	34	136
No party preference stated	18	22	60	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	40	33	27	15
Businessmen	40	31	29	42
White-collar workers	43	35	22	80
Skilled laborers	33	49	18	90
Semi-skilled laborers	24	32	44	62
Farmers	33	26	41	46
Housewives	25	27	48	190
Pensioners; retired	29	26	45	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	29	30	41	270
Protestants	31	33	36	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	30	33	37	496
Expellees, Refugees	32	29	39	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	30	32	38	170
2,000 to 24,999	32	23	45	208
25,000 to 99,999	28	39	33	54
100,000 and over	32	39	29	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Would give a</u> <u>guarantee</u>	<u>Would not</u> <u>give a</u> <u>guarantee</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	43%	41%	16%..100%	37
Lower Saxony	27	29	44	133
North/Rhine/Westphalia	35	37	28	156
Hesse	25	41	34	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	16	31	53	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	53	21	26	19
Bavaria	36	23	41	130

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"Do you believe Russia would guarantee the  
security of an armed, but neutral all-Germany,  
or don't you think so?"

	<u>Yes, would give guarantee</u>	<u>No, would not give guarantee</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	34%	32%	34%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	46	37	17	303
Women	24	27	49	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	31	32	37	512
Beyond elementary	48	32	20	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	21	24	55	76
150 to 299 DM	30	29	41	161
300 to 399 DM	36	37	27	147
400 to 499 DM	39	36	25	94
500 DM and more	44	32	24	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	46	29	25	44
Somewhat active	39	41	20	188
Remainder	31	28	41	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	65	23	12	17
Middle classes	37	31	32	309
Lower classes	30	33	37	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	40	27	33	67
25 to 34 years	31	39	30	122
35 to 44 years	35	34	31	130
45 to 54 years	34	34	32	146
55 years and more	34	25	41	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	45	31	24	134
CDU/CSU	33	36	31	162
FDP	50	31	19	26
Other Parties	40	27	33	52
No party	30	35	35	136
No party preference stated	23	27	50	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	73	7	20	15
Businessmen	48	33	19	42
White-collar workers	50	29	21	80
Skilled laborers	47	35	18	90
Semi-skilled laborers	29	37	34	62
Farmers	26	44	30	46
Housewives	26	27	47	190
Pensioners; retired	33	23	44	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	31	33	36	270
Protestants	34	32	34	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	33	32	35	496
Expellees: refugees	40	32	28	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	32	35	33	170
2,000 to 24,999	35	23	42	208
25,000 to 99,999	30	39	31	54
100,000 and over	37	37	26	194

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	<u>Yes, would</u> <u>give guarantee</u>	<u>No, would not</u> <u>give guarantee</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg				
Bremen	35%	43%	22%	37
Lower Saxony	28	35	37	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	44	31	25	156
Hesse	41	25	34	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	27	20	45	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	32	42	26	19
Bavaria	31	31	38	130

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"Do you believe an armed, but neutral all-Germany could rely on such a guarantee given by the Western Powers, or don't you think so? (Rely strongly, to some extent, only little or not at all?)"

	<u>Rely</u> <u>Strongly</u>	<u>Rely to</u> <u>some</u> <u>extent</u>	<u>Rely</u> <u>only</u> <u>little</u>	<u>Rely</u> <u>not</u> <u>at all</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	24%	32%	12%	11%.. .100%	21%	626
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	30	35	12	12	11	303
Women	19	29	12	9	31	323
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	23	31	12	11	23	512
Beyond elementary	30	34	11	11	14	114
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	20	30	7	7	36	76
150 to 299 DM	19	27	12	14	28	161
300 to 399 DM	29	33	14	12	12	147
400 to 499 DM	28	33	13	7	19	94
500 DM and more	30	32	12	12	14	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>						
Very active	45	32	9	5	9	44
Somewhat active	23	35	12	16	14	188
Remainder	23	30	12	9	26	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	29	35	24	12	-	17
Middle classes	29	30	12	9	20	309
Lower classes	20	33	11	11	25	300
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	27	30	6	13	24	67
25 to 34 years	26	37	12	10	15	122
35 to 44 years	22	34	16	12	16	130
45 to 54 years	23	34	12	10	21	146
55 years and over	25	25	9	10	31	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	23	42	13	11	11	134
CDU/CSU	31	25	12	10	22	162
FDP	38	27	12	15	8	26
Other parties	27	40	12	4	17	52
No party	21	28	15	16	20	136
No party preference stated	15	33	7	7	38	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	33	40	7	-	20	15
Businessmen	29	33	19	5	14	42
White-collar workers	32	31	13	9	15	80
Skilled laborers	25	38	13	13	11	90
Semi-skilled laborers	16	34	6	18	26	62
Farmers	30	35	7	11	17	46
House wives	19	32	14	9	26	190
Pensioners: retired	27	24	8	11	30	66
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	24	28	11	11	26	270
Protestants	24	34	13	10	19	323
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	24	30	12	11	23	496
Expellees, Refugees	26	39	12	10	13	130

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	<u>Rely</u> <u>Strongly</u>	<u>Rely to</u> <u>some</u> <u>extent</u>	<u>Rely</u> <u>only</u> <u>little</u>	<u>Rely</u> <u>not</u> <u>at all</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u>	<u>No.</u> <u>of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	23%	36%	14%	9%	18%	170
2,000 to 24,999	26	23	9	11	31	208
25,000 to 99,999	13	41	17	11	18	54
100,000 and more	26	35	12	12	15	194
<u>Land:</u>						
Schleswig/Holstein,						
Hamburg, Bremen	24	38	14	16	8	37
Lower Saxony	20	35	11	11	23	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	25	30	14	12	19	156
Hesse	31	37	9	6	17	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	26	27	6	7	34	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	16	42	32	10	-	19
Bavaria	26	27	12	11	24	130



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"Do you believe an armed, but neutral All-Germany could rely on such a guarantee given by Russia, or don't you think so? (Rely strongly, to some extent, only little or not at all?)"

	<u>Rely</u> <u>Strongly</u>	<u>Rely to</u> <u>some</u> <u>extent</u>	<u>Rely</u> <u>only</u> <u>little</u>	<u>Rely</u> <u>not</u> <u>at all</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	5%	12%	23%	39%	21%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	8	15	26	40	11	303
Women	3	9	20	38	30	323
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	5	11	23	39	22	512
Beyond elementary	6	18	24	38	14	114
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	1	7	24	30	38	76
150 to 299 DM	6	4	21	43	26	161
300 to 399 DM	7	11	29	43	10	147
400 to 499 DM	6	15	17	44	18	94
500 DM and more	6	23	22	35	14	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>						
Very active	9	12	27	45	7	44
Somewhat active	8	14	26	38	14	188
Remainder	4	11	21	38	26	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	-	29	30	35	6	17
Middle classes	7	14	23	38	18	309
Lower classes	4	9	23	41	23	300
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	3	21	18	38	20	67
25 to 34 years	9	8	26	45	12	122
35 to 44 years	5	12	24	42	17	130
45 to 54 years	2	12	25	39	22	146
55 years and over	7	10	20	33	30	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	8	16	25	42	9	134
CDU/CSU	4	10	21	46	19	162
FDP	8	15	27	35	15	26
Other Parties	10	14	29	30	17	52
No party	7	12	23	37	21	136
No party preference	2	8	19	33	38	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	-	33	20	27	20	15
Businessmen	5	24	19	38	14	42
White-collar workers	7	15	29	33	16	80
Skilled laborers	8	17	24	42	9	90
Semi-skilled laborers	10	3	20	45	22	62
Farmers	-	4	39	33	24	46
Housewives	4	9	19	41	27	190
Pensioners; retired	5	10	21	38	26	66
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	5	10	18	41	26	270
Protestants	5	12	27	38	18	323
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	5	12	22	38	23	496
Expellees: refugees	7	12	26	44	12	130
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	5	11	29	37	18	170
2,000 to 24,999	6	8	15	42	29	208
25,000 to 99,999	-	6	29	48	17	54
100,000 and over	7	19	24	35	15	194

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	<u>Rely</u> <u>strongly</u>	<u>Rely to</u> <u>some</u> <u>extent</u>	<u>Rely</u> <u>only</u> <u>little</u>	<u>Rely</u> <u>not</u> <u>at all</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>						
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg						
Bremen	3%	19%	24%	49%	5%	37
Lower Saxony	2	9	25	42	22	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	8	13	22	39	18	156
Hesse	9	22	18	28	23	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	3	6	22	37	32	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	-	16	26	58	-	19
Bavaria	7	9	25	37	22	130



"Here are a few other possibilities for achieving the reunification of Germany as they have repeatedly appeared in the newspapers. Would you tell me in each case whether you approve or not?"

A A reunited Germany will stand alone, remain unarmed and neutral and the East as well as the West will guarantee Germany's security.

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Don't approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	40%	37%	23%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	38	49	13	303
Women	42	26	32	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	41	33	26	512
Beyond elementary	34	55	11	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	38	22	40	76
150 to 299 DM	39	34	27	161
300 to 399 DM	45	41	14	147
400 to 499 DM	42	36	22	94
500 DM and more	40	46	14	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	39	50	11	44
Somewhat active	43	41	16	188
Remainder	39	34	27	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	29	65	6	17
Middle classes	38	41	21	309
Lower classes	42	32	26	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	45	31	24	67
25 to 34 years	47	37	16	122
35 to 44 years	41	42	17	130
45 to 54 years	35	40	25	146
55 years and over	36	33	31	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	46	40	14	134
CDU/CSU	37	45	18	162
FDP	35	42	23	26
Other Parties	42	39	19	52
No party	46	34	20	136
No party preference stated	33	23	44	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	27	60	13	15
Businessmen	41	40	19	42
White-collar workers	36	51	13	80
Skilled laborers	39	43	18	90
Semi-skilled laborers	39	40	21	62
Farmers	37	39	24	46
Housewives	46	24	30	190
Pensioners;retired	36	38	26	66
<u>Religion</u>				
Catholics	43	34	23	270
Protestants	36	40	24	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	39	36	25	496
Expellees; refugees	42	42	16	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	42	33	25	170
2,000 to 24,999	39	32	29	208
25,000 to 99,999	32	37	31	54
100,000 and over	41	46	13	194

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Don't approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	38%	57%	5%	37
Lower Saxony	35	42	23	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	46	37	17	156
Hesse	56	29	15	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	22	33	45	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	37	42	21	49
Bavaria	44	32	24	130

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"Here are a few other possibilities for achieving the reunification of Germany as they have repeatedly appeared in the newspapers. Would you tell me in each case whether you approve or not?"

B - A reunited Germany may maintain military forces, but will become, together with other European countries, a part of a neutral belt in Europe.

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Don't approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	41%	28%	31%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	50	34	16	303
Women	34	22	44	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	40	26	34	512
Beyond elementary	48	36	16	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	28	22	50	76
150 to 299 DM	37	25	38	161
300 to 399 DM	50	31	19	147
400 to 499 DM	40	31	29	94
500 DM and more	51	27	22	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:*</u>				
Very active	39	41	20	44
Somewhat active	50	29	21	188
Remainder	37	26	37	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	41	47	12	17
Middle classes	44	27	29	309
Lower classes	39	27	34	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	45	27	28	67
25 to 34 years	46	33	21	122
35 to 44 years	44	26	30	130
45 to 54 years	40	27	33	146
55 years and over	36	26	38	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	49	32	19	134
CDU/CSU	46	27	27	162
FDP	46	23	31	26
Other parties	48	25	27	52
No party	34	40	26	136
No party preference stated	33	13	54	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	53	27	20	15
Businessmen	45	33	22	42
White-collar workers	54	29	17	80
Skilled laborers	50	30	20	90
Semi-skilled laborers	34	35	31	62
Farmers	39	26	35	46
Housewives	34	26	40	190
Pensioners; retired	41	26	33	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	45	24	31	270
Protestants	38	30	32	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	39	28	33	496
Expellees: refugees	49	29	22	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	37	29	34	170
2,000 to 24,999	34	30	36	208
25,000 to 99,999	55	17	28	54
100,000 and over	50	27	23	194

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	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Don't approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	49%	38%	13%	37
Lower Saxony	38	26	36	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	53	26	21	156
Hesse	45	33	22	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	29	23	48	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	47	36	37	89
Bavaria	35	31	34	130





"Do you consider it likely or unlikely that the Western Powers and Russia will agree on a solution like Point A on a Four Power Conference?"

	<u>Likely</u>	<u>Unlikely</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	22%	50%	28%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	26	60	14	303
Women	18	42	40	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23	47	30	512
Beyond elementary	16	66	18	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	16	37	47	76
150 to 299 DM	20	44	36	161
300 to 399 DM	29	57	14	147
400 to 499 DM	16	57	27	94
500 DM and more	27	54	19	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale: @</u>				
Very active	34	55	11	44
Somewhat active	25	56	19	188
Remainder	19	47	34	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	29	59	12	17
Middle classes	19	58	23	309
Lower classes	24	43	33	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	25	48	27	67
25 to 34 years	21	53	26	122
35 to 44 years	23	53	24	130
45 to 54 years	20	52	28	146
55 years and over	21	46	33	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	32	52	16	134
CDU/CSU	18	57	25	162
FDP	23	50	27	26
Other Parties	29	50	21	52
No party	21	55	24	136
No party preference stated	14	34	52	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	33	54	13	15
Businessmen	19	60	21	42
White-collar workers	22	60	18	80
Skilled laborers	23	61	16	90
Semi-skilled laborers	26	50	24	63
Farmers	13	54	33	46
Housewives	22	41	37	190
Pensioners; retired	21	47	32	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	24	45	31	270
Protestants	19	55	26	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	20	50	30	496
Expellees; refugees	29	51	20	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	20	53	27	170
2,000 to 24,999	25	36	39	208
25,000 to 99,999	15	50	35	54
100,000 and over	23	63	14	194

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Land:

	<u>Likely</u>	<u>Unlikely</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg				
Bremen	32%	57%	11%	37
Lower Saxony	15	54	31	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	25	55	20	156
Hesse	31	48	21	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	42	15	43	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	11	47	42	19
Bavaria	6	64	30	130

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"And how about Point B? Do you consider it likely or unlikely that the Western Powers and Russia will agree on a solution like Point B?"

	<u>Likely</u>	<u>Unlikely</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	18%	51%	31%..100%	626
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	22	63	15	303
Women	14	39	47	323
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	18	49	33	512
Beyond elementary	18	59	23	114
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	10	37	53	76
150 to 299 DM	16	45	39	161
300 to 399 DM	22	58	20	147
400 to 499 DM	19	55	26	94
500 DM and more	21	57	22	118
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale: @</u>				
Very active	23	64	13	44
Somewhat active	25	55	20	188
Remainder	14	48	38	394
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	24	47	29	17
Middle classes	17	56	27	309
Lower classes	18	46	36	300
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	24	43	33	67
25 to 34 years	12	60	28	122
35 to 44 years	22	50	28	130
45 to 54 years	19	51	30	146
55 years and over	16	47	37	161
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	22	58	20	134
CDU/CSU	17	51	32	162
FDP	19	58	23	26
Other parties	23	52	25	52
No party	16	56	28	136
No party preference stated	15	34	51	116
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	20	67	13	15
Businessmen	21	57	22	42
White-collar workers	29	52	19	80
Skilled laborers	22	62	16	90
Semi-skilled laborers	11	63	26	62
Farmers	15	46	39	46
Housewives	16	41	43	190
Pensioners; retired	15	50	35	66
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	17	48	35	270
Protestants	19	50	31	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	17	49	34	496
Expellees: refugees	20	57	23	130
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	16	52	32	170
2,000 to 24,999	16	43	41	207
25,000 to 99,999	28	33	39	54
100,000 and over	19	63	18	194

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	<u>Likely</u>	<u>Unlikely</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	30%	57%	13%	37
Lower Saxony	18	50	32	133
North Rhine/Westphalia	22	56	22	156
Hesse	20	54	26	65
Wuerttemberg/Baden	7	44	49	86
Rhineland/Palatinate	16	32	52	19
Bavaria	15	51	34	130

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